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# THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN QUESTION.

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I HAVE been requested to give an explanation of the threatened Indian outbreak, in view of the popular belief that the Indians had been so far subjugated and reduced in numbers that an uprising was no longer considered serious. An account is also desired of the present situation, and I am asked the extent to which the Indians are a source of danger, even though the present troubles are averted, who is to blame for the outbreak, and how peace can be assured for the future.

The questions are quite comprehensive. In reply I would say that it is a misfortune that the people of many sections are so little acquainted with the inhabitants, character, resources, and necessities of this country, which constitutes one great nation. Circumstances have given the people of the West better opportunities of observing it in its entirety.

Again, it is somewhat surprising to notice how little interest the people of the great Mississippi valley take in the local affairs of the Pacific or Atlantic States. Frequently the press and public men have announced that we have no necessity for a navy to protect our commerce; that we have no need of modern coast-defences and improved artillery to protect our twenty-seven ports of entry and five billions of property scattered along the Pacific, Atlantic, and Gulf coasts; that as far as foreign complications and foreign wars are concerned we have suddenly reached "the



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millennium," when arbitration (which is a most excellent measure to rely upon when both parties are afraid) is to determine all questions of international controversy. On the other hand, the people living in the densely-populated regions of the Atlantic States have formed the impression, in which perhaps the hope or desire is father to the thought, that after two hundred years of Indian warfare we have reached the end of all serious controversy between the Indians and the white race.

The fact that we have had a few years of peace is no guarantee that it will continue. Within the last sixteen years we have had no less than nine Indian wars, and now we find ourselves threatened with a more serious and general uprising than any that has occurred during the whole history of Indian warfare. The confederation of the "Six Nations" by the prophet, the campaigns of Tecumseh, and the conspiracy of Pontiac did not extend over so vast an area of country or embrace so many different tribes, many of whom have been hostile to each other, as the present conspiracy; and while the conditions are somewhat similar to those which have preceded other Indian confederations, conspiracies, and wars, this one has unusual features and causes.

The Indians are practically a doomed race, and none realize it better than themselves. They have contended inch by inch for every foot of territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The strength, superior intelligence, and ingenuity of the white race in the construction of weapons of war, and their vast superiority in numbers, have not deterred the Indians from resisting the power of the whites and beginning hostilities, sometimes even with apparently little justification, cause, or hope of success; and there would be nothing remarkable in the history of such a warlike people if they made one desperate effort in the death-struggle of the race.

The subjugation of a race by their enemies cannot but create feelings of most intense hatred and animosity. Possibly if we should put ourselves in their place, we might comprehend their feelings. Suppose, for instance, that, instead of being a nation of vast wealth, population, prosperity, and happiness, our numbers were narrowed down to two hundred and fifty thousand souls, scattered in bands, villages, or settlements of from five hundred to twenty thousand people, and confined within the limits of comparatively small districts. Suppose this vast continent had been overrun by sixty millions of people from Africa, India, or China,

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claiming that their civilization, customs, and beliefs were older and better than ours, compelling us to adopt their habits, language, and religion, obliging us to wear the same style of raiment, cut our hair according to their fashion, live upon the same food, sing the same songs, worship the same Allahs, Vishnus, and Brahmas; and we realized that such a conquest and the presence of such a horde of enemies had become a withering blight and a destroying scourge to our race: what then would be our feelings towards such a people? In considering this question we may be able to realize something of the feelings of the Indians of to-day. They remember the romance of the freedom and independence they once enjoyed; the time when they could move from one pleasant valley to another; when they had all that an Indian desires, namely, plenty of food, comfortable lodges made of skins of the buffalo or elk, plenty of their kind of clothing; and when they were allowed to enjoy their customs, rites, and amusements, savage and brutal as they were.

The first time the writer met Sitting Bull was under a flag of truce between the lines, when he had a thousand warriors behind him; and during the conversation I think he expressed in a few words the true sentiment of the Indian. He was what might be considered a devotional man, frequently offering a little prayer and saluting the Great Spirit. One remark of his is certainly significant. Raising his eyes toward heaven, he said: "God Almighty made me an Indian, and he did not make me an agency Indian, and I do not intend to be one." That remark was indorsed by huge grunts of the stalwart savages within hearing, and it is the sentiment of the non-treaty, disaffected Indians of every tribe in every section of the great West. They prefer to be Indians in their wild and independent life rather than to be confined to the limits of any agency.

While we have continued the policy of using the military force of the government against them with all severity, as soon as that is completed and the tribes are subjugated, they are suddenly turned over to civilians, some from the far-off Eastern States, to try various experiments and to carry out the theories that they have of civilization. Take, for instance, the Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Comanches of the Indian Territory. Their history has been a history of peace and war for many years. In 1874 they had a great convention or medicine-dance, which resulted in a

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general uprising, in which they became a terror to the whole southwest country. After committing many crimes and after many engagements with the troops, they were finally worn down and subjugated, and surrendered with scarcely any means of continuing hostilities. Most of the few remaining war ponies they had were sold; they gave up their pale and emaciated white captives, who in turn passed down the line of warriors and pointed out not less than seventy Comanches who had committed horrible atrocities during the eight months of hostility. These seventy warriors were sent to Florida for punishment, and the military control of the tribes was withdrawn. Within a few years the warriors were returned to the Indian Territory, and in nine years from that time the same Indians were rearmed and remounted, in better condition for war than before, and ripe for an outbreak. The commanding general of the army and the department commander were sent to the Indian Territory, and nearly one-fourth of the army was concentrated in that department to prevent a serious outbreak, endangering the peace of Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, by the same Indians who are now in a threatening condition.

Again, take the Sioux nation that committed the terrible massacre of '62 in Minnesota, in which it was authoritatively stated that one thousand lives were lost, and a very large military force was employed to bring them under control. Thirty of the principal leaders were tried and hanged, but yet that experience did not deter others of the same Indians from engaging in the subsequent wars of the Sioux nation. In 1867 the Sioux were again in a condition of hostility, and the Fetterman massacre occurred, the Indians being led by the same man (Red Cloud) who is said recently to have been instrumental in causing dissatisfaction among the different tribes. Treaties were made with them in 1869, but in 1876 they were again openly hostile, spreading terror over a vast section of country, embracing a portion of the two Dakotas, Montana, northern Nebraska, and a part of Wyoming. The massacre on the Little Big Horn followed in 1876, in which two hundred and sixty officers and soldiers under General Custer perished. After two seasons of campaigning against them by the United States troops, during the winter of 1875 and the summer of 1876, and the terribly severe winter campaign of 1876 and 1877, upwards of five thousand agreed to surrender, and nine of

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their principal men gave themselves as hostages that the tribes would surrender on the Yellowstone or at the different agencies; which they did with the exception of two bands under the leadership of Lame Deer and Sitting Bull. The former was killed in the following May, and the latter driven to Canada and kept north of the boundary for three years, until he and his followers finally surrendered between 1877 and 1881.

For four years from 1877 to 1881 they were under military control, and many of them were made self-sustaining. They were disarmed and dismounted, their war ponies were sold and the proceeds returned to them in domestic stock, and in a few years they had a large herd of cattle, and wagons and cultivated fields. In 1881 they were ordered to be sent down the Yellowstone and Missouri to the southern agencies, and although they implored the different officers to write or telegraph to the authorities in Washington to leave them where their crops were developing in the fields, they were loaded on five large steamboats and shipped down the river, and turned over to the Indian agent at Standing Rock Agency.

Many of these same Indians are now in a condition of threatening hostility. Within the short space of ten years we find the condition of the Cheyennes and Sioux Indians to be as follows: The fine herd of cattle belonging to the Cheyennes has disappeared. They claim that it has been partly taken by the whites, and that they were obliged to use the remainder for food. They claim that it was almost impossible for them to obtain food without committing depredations, and they stated in the presence of the commission recently visiting them that they were "compelled to eat their dogs in order to sustain life." The fact that they have not received sufficient food is admitted by the agents and the officers of the government who have had opportunities of knowing, and their condition is again as threatening as at any time when they have not been in hostility.

The Sioux Indians during that time were under the charge of civil agents, who have been frequently changed and often inexperienced. Many of the tribes have become rearmed and remounted, and have assumed a threatening attitude. They claim that the government has not fulfilled its treaties and has failed to make large enough appropriations for their support; they also claim that they have suffered for want of food, and the evidence

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of this is beyond question and sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced, intelligent mind. The statements of the officers, inspectors both of the military and the Interior Department, of agents, of missionaries and civilians familiar with their condition, leave no room for reasonable doubt that this is one of the principal causes of the present disturbance. While statements may be made as to the amount of money that has been expended by the government to feed the different tribes, and while there is no intention of questioning the honesty of all concerned, the manner of distributing those appropriations will furnish one reason for the deficit.

Another cause is the unfortunate failure of the crops in the plains country during the last two years. It has been almost impossible for the Indians to raise anything from the ground for self-support; in fact, white settlers have been very unfortunate and their losses have been serious and universal through a large section of that country. They have struggled on from year to year; occasionally they would raise good crops of corn, which they were compelled to sell for from fourteen to twenty cents per bushel, while in the season of drought their labor was almost entirely lost. So serious have been their misfortunes that many hundreds have left the country within the last few years, passing over the mountains to the Pacific slope or returning to the east banks of the Missouri and the Mississippi.

The Indian, however, cannot migrate from one part of the United States to another; neither can he obtain employment as readily as white people, either upon or beyond the Indian reservations. He must remain in comparative idleness and accept the results of the drought. This creates a feeling of discontent, even among the loyal and well-disposed, while there is quite a large element that is hostile and opposed to every process of civilization.

In this condition of affairs the Indians realize the inevitable, and as they see their numbers gradually diminishing, their strength and power gone, they pray to their God for some supernatural help to aid them in the restoration of their former independence, and for the destruction of their enemies. At this stage emissaries from a certain religious sect or people living on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains came among them announcing that the real messiah had appeared; and in order to convince themselves, delegations of Sioux, Cheyennes, and other tribes left their reservations a year ago last November, travelling through the Arapahoe

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and Shoshone reservations in Wyoming, and thence via the Union Pacific they passed into Utah, and were joined by others, Bannocks and Pi-Utes, until they came to a large conclave of whites and Indians in Nevada. They were there told that those present were all believers in this new religion, that they were all an oppressed people, that the whites and Indians there were all the same, and that the messiah had returned to them.

So well was this deception played by men masquerading and personating the Christ that they made these superstitious savages believe that all who had faith in this "new religion" would occupy the earth, and all who did not would be destroyed; and they were told that which is most precious to the Indian heart, that the spirits of their departed relatives would be resurrected, and that after the whites were destroyed they would come back driving vast herds of buffaloes and wild horses. They there met the representatives of fourteen tribes of Indians, and after several months they returned to the various tribes and announced what they had seen and heard, fully convinced that what had been told them was true. But in order to gratify the savage nature of the warlike Sioux they agreed that *acts* would be necessary to appease or hasten the coming of the messiah; that they must help remove the whites and thereby show their faith by their works.

To the disaffected, turbulent, hostile spirit of such men as Sitting Bull and others this was like a revelation; nothing could be more gratifying; and the false prophets and medicine-men immediately took advantage of the condition of the Indians to proclaim this doctrine and spread disaffection among the different tribes.

In early life Sitting Bull gained his reputation as a warrior by incessantly organizing and leading raiding parties and by his perpetual hostility to the white race. Few Indians have appeared on this continent who have been more successful in organizing and drawing to them large bodies of the discontented of their people. Emissaries travelled in various directions, not alone from his tribe, but more especially from the Shoshones and Arapahoes, who have been to some extent peaceable for many years, going to the different tribes and endeavoring to persuade them to this belief. Emissaries from Sitting Bull carried the tidings to the different tribes to get all the arms and ammunition possible, and meet all the warriors near the Black Hills in the spring. They visited the band of Sioux Indians north of the British boundary, and sym-

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pathy and promises of support were returned. The first sign of disturbance was to be the signal for the gathering of the warriors.

During the last few years of peace, and while there was apparently no danger of immediate outbreak, the Indians have been getting a large amount of ammunition and arms. The Indian's instinct is always to obtain some weapon of warfare or defence, and if he cannot obtain a rifle, he will get a knife or a bow and arrow. His favorite weapon, and one he has been most desirous of obtaining, is the long-range Winchester rifle, which is a rifle of the most effective kind.

The theory that a few lines of railway and the disappearance of the vast herds of buffaloes have made it impracticable for Indians to go to war is erroneous. They are in a better condition for war at present than ever before; they can live upon domestic stock, and there is abundance of it scattered over the plains country and much of the mountain country; and the numerous horse-ranches would furnish them a remount in nearly every valley. The Nez Percés, Bannocks, and Apaches in their recent wars lived and moved entirely upon the stock of white settlers. The area over which they could roam is the country west of the Missouri River between the Canadian boundary and the Rio Grande. It contains a very sparse population that has been struggling to plant homes.

Another reason of encouragement to the Indians to assume hostilities, and one of which their false prophets take advantage in influencing their followers, is the misfortunes that have occurred to the white people in the plains country during the last few years. Three years ago a very large percentage of the domestic stock was destroyed by the intensely cold winter of 1887, and the losses were ruinous to thousands of white settlers and ranchmen. The drought during the last two years has been very serious, and has caused many of the poor settlers who have been struggling for years to support themselves and their families to leave that country in pursuit of better fields west of the Rocky Mountains or east of the Missouri. This, the false prophets claim, is an indication that the Great Spirit is angry with the white people for destroying their buffaloes (cattle) and causing them to leave the country, and that in time their buffaloes will return, as well as their dead relatives.

While the Indians have been in this disaffected condition and rearming and remounting, the little army that is the only safe-

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guard between the unprotected settlers and the savage hordes has been employed in other fields, and its supplies and equipments have been seriously curtailed. Congress has fixed the limit of the enlisted men in the army, the number of employees, the number of horses and the number of mules, and the limit is what might be required in time of peace rather than what is actually required in serious warfare. Congress, however, has not limited Indian wars. This necessarily causes much embarrassment to the United States troops; yet it has been the experience of the army of the United States to cope with the large number of savage tribes, experiencing all the dangers and hardships of a war in which no quarter is expected, and every officer and soldier who enters an Indian campaign realizes that, unless he achieves success, naught awaits him but torture or death.

No one who has not experienced it can comprehend or appreciate the fortitude, hardships, and sacrifices displayed and endured by our army in its years of experience in Indian warfare; frequently in the wildest and most rugged sections of country, amid cañons, mountains, and lava-beds, under the tropical heats of the south or in the Arctic blizzards of the extreme north; yet year after year it discharges whatever service is required of it with most commendable fidelity.

You ask me who is responsible for this condition of affairs. The answer is both the whites and the Indians.

*First*—Those white men who have compelled the Indians to live upon limited tracts of land and allowed them to get into the condition in which we now find them, dissatisfied and equipped for war.

*Second*—Another class of whites are those who have committed the great crime of instilling into the minds of these superstitious and vicious savages the delusion that they have a messiah among them, and that the white people who do not believe it will be destroyed by some supernatural power: it matters not whether the Indians have been incited by this class of white people in actual words to open hostilities or not; the deceptions that have been practised upon them have aroused their warlike natures until they are in a condition for devastation, plunder, ravage, and all the horrors that savage fiends can inflict upon defenceless and unprotected people.

*Third*—Another class of people who are responsible are the

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white men who have made merchandise of the welfare and safety of their own people; in other words, those who have sold thousands of improved magazine long-range rifles and tons of ammunition to savages, which alone enable them to devastate the country. Those Indians could manufacture neither a rifle, a cartridge, nor a knife; yet they are better armed and better supplied with ammunition to-day than at any time in their history.

*Fourth*—Those who are to blame for this threatened danger are the Indians themselves; and Halleck's description of Red Jacket is not a bad illustration of the Indian's double character. While they have wrongs and grievances that have been fully enumerated, at the same time they have friends anxious to protect their interests; but, notwithstanding this, they would in justification of some real or imaginary wrong, or prompted by some wild, savage religious frenzy, ravage a country and brain the innocent prattling babe with fiendish delight as readily as they would meet a stalwart foe.

If you ask for the remedy that will prevent the possibility of such a condition of affairs in the future, I would say that I have not changed the opinion formed and stated in an article in this REVIEW thirteen years ago. After careful observation of all the principal tribes in the United States, I believe that those people who have been and are still a terror to the peace and good order of certain States and territories should be placed under some government just and strong enough to control them. The time has arrived when the lives, welfare, prosperity, and future of those great States are too precious and too valuable to be jeopardized by these yearly alarms and frequent Indian wars. While thousands of people have fled from their little homes, and abandoned most of their property, to seek shelter and refuge in any place where it could be obtained, and while thousands of resolute and intrepid officers and soldiers are enduring the severity of a Dakota winter to hold in restraint these tribes of turbulent savages, it is hoped that some conclusion will be reached by the government to permanently end the present state of affairs. The subject is too serious for selfishness, acrimony, or partisanship. It requires judicious, humane, and patriotic treatment.

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# IRELAND IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

BY W. E. H. LECKY, AUTHOR OF A "HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY."

THE kind of interest which belongs to Irish history is curiously different from that which attaches to the history of England and to that of most of the great nations of the Continent. In very few histories do we find so little national unity or continuous progress, or such long spaces which are almost wholly occupied by perplexed, petty internal broils, often stained by atrocious crimes, but turning on no large issue and leading to no clear or stable results. Except during the great missionary period of the sixth and seventh centuries, and during a brief portion of the eighteenth century, we have little of the interest that arises from dramatic situations or shining characters, and in few countries has the highest intellect been, on the whole, so slightly connected with the administration of affairs. To a philosophical student of politics, however, Irish history possesses an interest of the highest order. It is an invaluable study of morbid anatomy. In very few histories can we trace so clearly the effects of political and social circumstances in forming national character; the calamity of missed opportunities and of fluctuating and procrastinating policy; the folly of attempting to govern by the same methods and institutions nations that are wholly different in their characters and their civilization.

The idea which still floats vaguely in many minds that Ireland, before the arrival of the Normans, was a single and independent nation, is wholly false. Ireland was not a nation, but a collection of separate tribes and kingdoms, engaged in almost constant warfare. In this respect, however, she resembled many countries which have since attained the most perfect unity, and there can be little doubt that, if her development had been impeded by no extraneous influences, Ireland would have followed

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the same path as England or France. Much stress has been justly laid on the disorganizing influence of a long succession of Danish invasions, though it must be remembered that Ireland owes to the Danes the foundation of some of her most important cities. Roman conquest, which introduced into most of Europe invaluable elements of order, organization, and respect for law, never extended to Ireland. The Anglo-Norman invasion and conquest produced consequences which were almost wholly evil. If the invaders had been driven from the Irish shore, the natural course of development would, no doubt, have been in time continued. If the invaders had completely conquered Ireland, a fusion might have taken place as complete and as healthy as in England. Neither of these two events occurred. The English conquest was prolonged over nearly four hundred years. A hostile and separate power was planted in the centre of Ireland, sufficiently powerful to prevent the formation of another civilization, yet not sufficiently powerful to impose a civilization of its own. Feudalism was introduced, but the keystone of the system, a strong resident sovereign, was wanting, and Ireland was soon torn by the wars of great Anglo-Norman nobles, who were, in fact, independent sovereigns, much like the old Irish kings. The Scotch invasion of the fourteenth century added enormously to the anarchy and confusion ; the English power as a living reality contracted to the narrow limits of the pale ; in outlying districts the Anglo-Norman assimilated quickly with the Celtic element, while the English legislators in Ireland, alarmed at the tendency, made it the main object of their policy, in the words of Sir John Davies, "to make a perpetual separation and enmity between the English and Irish, pretending no doubt that the English should in the end root out the Irish."

Such a state of things continued till the long and terrible wars of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth broke the power of the independent chiefs and of the Celtic clans, and gave Ireland, for the first time, a political unity. It is one of the great infelicities of Irish history that this result was obtained at the very period of the Reformation. The conquerors adopted one religion, while the conquered retained the other, and thus a new and most enduring barrier was raised between the two nations in Ireland, and a pernicious antagonism was established between law and religion.

Another influence not less powerful than religion had at the

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same time come into play. It had become the English policy to place great bodies of English and Scotch settlers on the land that was confiscated in consequence of rebellion, and under the impulse of the strong spirit of adventure which grew up in the generation that followed the Reformation, streams of English and Scotch adventurers poured over. The great settlement of Ulster under James I. proved ultimately a success, and laid the foundation of the prosperity of that province. Other plantations were in time absorbed and assimilated by the Celtic population; but vast revolutions in the ownership of land, accompanied by the subversion of the old tribal customs, laid the foundation of an agrarian war which still continues.

Religious and agrarian causes combined with the civil war in England to produce the great rebellion of 1641 and the eleven years of ghastly, exterminating war which followed. Hardly any page in human history is more appalling. A full third of the population of Ireland perished. Thirty or forty thousand of the most energetic left the country and took service in foreign armies. Great tracts were left absolutely depopulated, and after the rearrangement of land, which was accomplished by the Act of Settlement, the immense preponderance of landed property remained in the hands of the Protestant nation.

New elements, however, of great energy had been planted in Ireland, and the field had been thrown open to their exertions. The excellence of Irish wool and the cheapness of Irish labor laid the foundation of a flourishing woollen manufacture, and with peace, mild administration, and much practical tolerance, the wounds of the country seemed gradually healing. The later Stuart reigns, which form a dark page in English history, were a period of considerable prosperity in Ireland, but that period was soon interrupted by the Revolution. There was no general or passionate rising in Ireland resembling that of 1641, but it was inevitable that the Irish Catholics should have adopted the side of the Catholic King, and it was equally inevitable that when a Catholic Parliament, consisting largely of sons of the men whose properties had recently been confiscated, had assembled at Dublin, its members should have made a desperate effort to reverse their fortunes and replace the land of the country mainly in Catholic hands. The battle of the Boyne shattered the Catholic hopes, and it was followed by a new confiscation, by a new emigration of

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the ablest and most energetic Catholics, by a long period of commercial restraints, penal laws, and complete Protestant ascendency.

The commercial restraints formed part of a protective policy which was at that time general in Europe, and which was severely felt in the American colonies. Though it did not absolutely originate in, it was greatly intensified by, the Revolution, which gave the manufacturing and commercial classes a new power in English government. The linen manufacture was spared, but the total destruction by law of the flourishing woollen manufacture, followed by a number of other restrictions imposed on other branches of industry, deprived Ireland of her most promising sources of wealth, drove great multitudes of energetic Protestants out of the country, and threw the people more and more upon the soil as almost their sole means of support.

The penal laws against the Catholics accompanied or closely followed the commercial restraints. The blame of them may be divided with some equality between the government of England and the Parliament of Ireland. It was the Irish Parliament which enacted these laws, but an English act first made the Irish Parliament exclusively Protestant, and the whole legislation was carried at a time when the Irish Parliament was completely dependent, and incompetent even to discuss any measure without the previous approbation of the English government. In order to judge this legislation with equity, it must be remembered that in the beginning of the eighteenth century restrictive laws against Protestantism in Catholic countries, and against Catholicism in Protestant ones, almost universally prevailed. The laws against Irish Catholics were, on the whole, less stringent than those against Catholics in England. They were largely modelled after the French legislation against the Huguenots, but persecution in Ireland never approached in severity that of Louis XIV., and was absolutely insignificant compared with that which had extirpated Protestantism and Judaism from Spain. The code, however, was not mainly the product of religious feeling, but of policy, and in this respect it has been defended in its broad outlines, though not in all its details, by such Irishmen as Charlemont, Flood, and Parsons. They argue that at the close of a long period of savage civil war it was absolutely necessary for a small minority, who found themselves in possession of the govern-

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ment and land of the country, to deprive the conquered and hostile majority of every element of political and military strength. This was the real object of the code. It was a mission of self-defence justified by necessity, and by the fact that it produced in Ireland for the space of about eighty years the most perfect tranquillity.

There is much truth is these considerations, but it is also true that the penal code produced more pernicious moral, social, and political effects than many sanguinary persecutions. In other countries disqualifying or persecuting laws were directed against small fractions of the nation. In Ireland they were directed against the bulk of the community. Being supported by little or no genuine religious fanaticism or proselytizing ardor, they made few Protestants except in the upper orders, where many conformed in order to keep their land or to enter professions; but they drove nearly all the best and most energetic Catholics to the Continent; they discouraged industry; closed the door of knowledge; taught the people to look upon law as something hostile to religion; introduced division and immorality into families by the rewards they offered to apostasy; and condemned the whole country to poverty and impotence by fatally depressing the great majority of its people. Under the influence of the penal laws the Catholics inevitably acquired the vices of serfs, and the Protestants the vices of monopolists. A great portion of the code was pronounced, with good reason, to be flagrantly opposed to the articles of the treaty of Limerick, and it completed the work of the confiscations by making the landlord class in Ireland almost wholly Protestant, while the great majority of the tenantry were Catholics.

There was a moment, however, in the beginning of the century when the whole current of Irish history might easily have changed. Scotland had suffered, like Ireland, from the protective policy that followed the Revolution, and her independent Parliament had retaliated by measures which threatened the speedy separation of the two crowns, and soon led to a legislative union. In Ireland such an union was ardently desired by enlightened Irishmen, and there is every reason to believe that it could then have been carried with universal consent. The Catholics were perfectly passive, and would gladly have accepted a change which withdrew them from the direct government of the conquerors in

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a recent civil war. The Protestants had as yet no distinctively national feeling, and a legislative union would have emancipated their industry and added enormously to their security. Molyneux, the first great champion of the legislative independence of Ireland, emphatically declared that he and those who thought with him would gladly have accepted the alternative of an union, and both the Irish houses of Parliament voted addresses in favor of such a measure. If it had been carried, Ireland would have been at least saved from the evils that rose from the commercial restrictions and from the extreme jobbing that grew up around the local legislature, and she would, perhaps, have been saved from some parts of the penal code. But the golden opportunity was lost. The English commercial classes dreaded Irish competition in their markets, and the petition of the Irish legislature was disregarded.

Nearly seventy years of quiet followed. The establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty, the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, the different wars in which England was engaged, left Ireland absolutely undisturbed. The House of Commons then sat for a whole reign and met only every second year. It was completely subservient to the English Privy Council, and it consisted so largely of nomination boroughs that a few great nobles commanded a decisive preponderance, and they practically conducted the government and administered the patronage of Ireland. There were great jobbing and corruption, but taxation, on the whole, was exceedingly light, and there was no tendency to throw it unduly on the poor, or to create in Ireland any of those many feudal burdens that prevailed in France and Germany. The practical evil most felt was the system of tithes for the support of the Protestant establishment, and it was aggravated by a very unfair exemption of pasture land, and also by the prevailing system of farming out tithes to a class of men known as tithe proctors. In the country districts all power was concentrated in the hands of the landlords, who, with many faults and under many difficulties, at least succeeded in attaining a large measure of genuine popularity.

There was an Irish army of twelve thousand men, but the greater part of it was always sent abroad in time of war, and Ireland was then often left with not more than five thousand soldiers. No militia and no constabulary force existed, but when Whiteboy or other disturbances arose, the landlords put them-

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selves at the head of their tenantry, and usually succeeded in suppressing them. Law was very little observed; industrial virtues were at the lowest ebb; there was abundance of drunkenness, idleness, turbulence, neglect of duty, extreme ignorance, and extreme poverty; but there was not much real oppression or religious bigotry, and there were no signs of political disturbance or conspiracy. After a few years the portions of the penal code which restricted the Catholic worship became a dead-letter, and Catholic chapels were everywhere rising on the Protestant estates. The monopoly, however, of place and power continued, though the legal profession was full of professing converts. The theological temperature in both sects had greatly subsided. Land was usually let by the owner on long leases, and at very low rents to tenants who almost invariably divided and sublet their tenancies.

At a later period of the century, when population pressed closely on subsistence, the system of middlemen produced a fierce competition which raised rent in the lower grades to an enormous height, but this evil was less felt with a scanty population, and the hierarchy of tenants at least saved the landlords from the dangerous isolation which their circumstances tended to produce. Arthur Young, who examined the condition of the country very carefully between 1776 and 1778, perceived great signs of growing prosperity, especially in the towns, and, although agriculture was far behind that of England, he found a considerable number of active, intelligent, and improving landlords. In the opinion of Young the rental of Ireland was unduly and unnaturally low, but he urged the landlords to exercise a more direct and controlling influence over their estates, and he recommended them, for this purpose, to give leases for shorter periods and gradually to abolish the system of middlemen and subletting.

In the north there was a powerful, intelligent Protestant community, with a strong leaning to republicanism. They were chiefly Presbyterians, and they resented bitterly the commercial restrictions and the obligation of paying tithes to an Episcopal church. The Irish Parliament was so constituted that they had no political power at all equivalent to their importance, and, like the Presbyterians in England, they were burdened by the Test Act, and their marriages were only valid if celebrated in the Established Church. The great power of the bishops, both in



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the Privy Council and in the House of Lords, formed a very serious obstacle to church reform. In all classes of Protestants, however, in the closing years of George II., there was a strong resentment at the political subjection of Ireland, and a determination to obtain, if possible, those constitutional rights which the Revolution of 1688 had secured for England.

It is impossible, within the narrow limits assigned to me, to give even a sketch of the successive stages by which the independence of the Irish Parliament was established. The movement began with the Octennial Act, limiting the duration of Parliament, and it came to full maturity during the war of the American Revolution. Among the Irish Catholics there appears to have been absolutely no sympathy with the American cause, but Ulster Protestantism was enthusiastically on the side of America. Presbyterians from Ulster bore a considerable part in the American armies, and under the influence of American example public opinion in Ireland rapidly advanced. The great volunteer movement of 1778 and the following years was originated by the fact that the government could supply no troops for the defence of Ulster at a time when it was in imminent danger of attack from France. The Protestant gentry called their people to arms; and a great Protestant force was created, which not only secured the country against foreign danger and maintained the most perfect internal order, but also exercised a decisive influence over Irish politics. Volunteer conventions were assembled which represented both property and educated Protestant opinion much more truly than the borough Parliament, and which loudly demanded free trade and Parliamentary independence. Grattan made himself the mouthpiece of the popular feeling; and the English government and Parliament yielded to the demand. The whole system of commercial restraints, which prevented Ireland from developing her resources and trading with foreign countries and the British colonies, was abolished, leaving the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland to be regulated by special acts. The power of the Privy Council over Irish legislation was abolished. The appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords was restored, and, above all, the sole competence of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland to legislate for Ireland was recognized. The Irish Parliament nearly at the same time made

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great steps towards uniting the people by relieving the Presbyterians from the Test Act and from the restrictions on their marriages, and the Catholics from those parts of the penal code which chiefly restrained their worship, their education, and their industry. At the same time the Protestant monopoly of political power and of the higher offices remained.

Ireland thus found herself in possession of a Parliament which was, in name at least, perfectly independent. It was a purely Protestant Parliament, elected by Protestants, consisting mainly of landlords and great Protestant lawyers, and representing preëminently the property of the country. It was intensely and exclusively loyal, and always ready to adopt far more stringent coercive measures against anarchy and sedition than have ever been adopted by an imperial parliament. It included many men of great talents and great liberality, and through the county constituencies and the representatives of the chief towns educated public opinion was seriously felt within its walls; but the large majority of its members sat for nomination boroughs within the control of the government, and places and pensions were inordinately multiplied for the purpose of securing a majority.

Could this constitution last? In framing the course of foreign and imperial policy, in all questions of peace or war, of negotiations or alliances, the Irish Parliament had no voice. Yet it might in time of war, by withholding its concurrence, withdraw the whole weight of Ireland from the forces and fatally dislocate the policy of the empire. It might pursue a commercial policy absolutely inconsistent with imperial interests, and bring Ireland into intimate commercial connection with the enemies of England; and if English party spirit extended to Ireland and ran in opposite directions in the two legislatures, a collision was inevitable. The Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary, who administered the government of Ireland, were appointed by a British ministry representing the dominant British party; the counsels of the Irish government were framed in a British cabinet; the royal consent was given to every Irish bill under the great seal of Great Britain and upon the advice of a British minister. If a machine so constituted could work as long as it was in the hands of a small and undoubtedly loyal and largely-influenced class, could it work if Parliamentary reform made the Irish Parliament subject to the fierce and fluctuating tides of popular opinion?

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above all, if Catholic enfranchisement brought a vast, ignorant, and possibly seditious element into political life?

It was the recorded opinion of each successive Lord Lieutenant who administered the Irish government after 1782 that it could not, and that it must sooner or later end either in an union or a separation. They said this, though they fully acknowledged the perfect loyalty hitherto shown by the Irish Parliament; the liberality with which it voted its supplies; the care with which it subordinated its particular measures to the general interests of the empire. The failure—not solely or even mainly through Irish fault—of an attempt to establish a fixed commercial arrangement between England and Ireland, and a difference between the British and Irish parliaments on the imperial question of a regency, strengthened the opinion of the English government, and for many years before the Union was enacted it was in contemplation. On the two great and pressing questions at issue this policy exercised a powerful influence. The government obstinately resisted every serious attempt to reform the Parliament, lest they should lose that controlling power which they believed to be essential to the permanence of the connection. On the Catholic question their views were more fluctuating, but their dominant impression was that emancipation could only be safely conceded in an imperial parliament, and that it ought to be reserved as a boon which might one day make a legislative union acceptable to the Irish people.

In Ireland, or at least in Protestant Ireland, the idea of an union was now intensely unpopular, but the reformers in the Irish Parliament were seriously divided. Flood and Charlemont desired Parliamentary reform on a purely Protestant basis. They believed that this would include in political life the bulk of the property, loyalty, intelligence, and energy of the country, and that the Irish Catholics could not for a long period, be safely admitted to political power. Grattan, on the other hand, believed that it was the first interest of Ireland to efface the political distinction between the two creeds and nations, and that an introduction of a certain proportion of Catholic gentry into the Irish Parliament would be in the highest degree beneficial. He, at the same time, always taught that Ireland was utterly unfit for democracy, and that under her peculiar conditions no policy could be more disastrous than one which would "destroy the

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influence of landed property"; "set population adrift from the influence of property"; subvert or weaken the guiding influence of the loyal and educated. When the United Irishmen proposed a reform bill which would have made the Irish Parliament a purely democratic body, Grattan denounced it with the greatest vehemence. "This plan of personal representation," he said, "from a revolution of power, would speedily lead to a revolution of property, and become a plan of plunder as well as a scene of confusion. . . . Of such a representation the first ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstance incidental to robbery, murder." He believed, however, that with a substantial property qualification independent constituencies might be formed which would safely represent the best elements of both creeds.

The denial of Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, and the refusal of the Irish Parliament to deal with the still more pressing question of tithes, produced much disaffection; but still the country was steadily improving, and no serious danger was felt till the French Revolution burst upon Europe. In every country it stimulated the smouldering elements of disorder. In few countries was its influence more fatal than in Ireland. I have very lately described at length the terrible years of growing conspiracy, anarchy, and crime; of fluctuating policy, and savage repression, and revived religious animosity, and maddening panic, deliberately and malignantly fomented, that preceded and prepared the rebellion. It is sufficient here to say that in the beginning of 1798 three provinces were organized to assist a French invasion. But at the last moment the leaders were betrayed and arrested; the French did not arrive; the rebellion was almost confined to a few Leinster counties, and it broke out without leaders and without a plan. In most places the rebels proved to be wretched bands of marauders intent only on plunder, and, although they committed many murders, they were utterly incapable of meeting the loyalists in the field. But in Wexford priests put themselves at the head of the movement and turned it into a religious war, deriving its main force from religious fanaticism, and waged with desperate courage and ferocity. The massacre of Protestants on Vinegar Hill, in Scullabogue Barn, and on Wexford Bridge, and the general character the rebellion in Leinster assumed, at once and forever checked all that

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tendency to rebellion which had so long existed among the Protestants of Ulster. Some 20,000 persons perished before the flame was extinguished. The repression was as savage as the rebellion, and it left Ireland torn by fiercer religious animosities than at any period since the Restoration.

It will dispel many illusions if the reader will remember that the great Irish rebellion was directed mainly against the Irish Parliament, and that it received its death-blow from Irish loyalists acting under that Parliament before any assistance arrived from England. The conspiracy began among Protestants and Deists, who aimed at an union of sects for the purpose of obtaining a democratic republic. It turned into a war which was scarcely less essentially religious than the wars of the Cevennes or of the Anabaptists. Yet two great Catholic provinces remained quiet during the struggle, and a great proportion of the loyalist force which crushed the rebellion consisted of Catholic militia.

The English government thought that the time had now come for carrying a legislative union, and, in the eyes of Lord Cornwallis at least, one of its chief recommendations was that it would take the government of Ireland out of the hands of the triumphant party, and would make Catholic emancipation a possibility. The Catholic bishops were sounded and found to be very favorable. They declared their full willingness to accept an endowment for the priesthood and to give the English government a right of veto on episcopal appointments, and they warmly, efficiently, and unanimously supported the Union. The great majority of the Catholic landed gentry and probably of the lower priests were on the same side; but in general the Catholic laity seem to have shown little interest and to have taken little part in the contest. In Dublin, Catholics as well as Protestants were generally hostile, but Catholic Cork was decidedly favorable, and an assurance that the government desired to carry emancipation in an imperial parliament proved sufficient to prevent any serious Catholic opposition. The United Irishmen seem to have witnessed rather with pleasure than the reverse the dethronement of the body which had defeated them, and the Presbyterians showed scarcely any interest in the question.

Yet outside the ranks of the Catholic clergy the measure found few active supporters, while the Protestants of the Established Church were in general ardently and passionately hostile.

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The great majority of the county members and the great preponderance of petitions were against the Union, and the opposition to it, which was led by Foster, Grattan, Parsons, and Plunket, comprised nearly all the independent and unbribed talent in Parliament. The very eminent ability of that small group of Protestant gentlemen never flashed more brightly than in the closing scenes, and there was a moment when the attitude of the Orangemen and the yeomanry was so menacing that the government were seriously alarmed. But a lavish distribution of peerages and places purchased a majority, and the troops stationed in Ireland were too numerous for armed opposition to be possible. In truth, however, no opposition beyond the dimensions of a riot was to be feared. Outside Dublin, Catholic, Presbyterian, and seditious Ireland remained almost indifferent. Even before the measure had passed, opposition speakers complained bitterly that they were deserted by popular support; and it is a memorable fact that in the general election that followed the Union not a single Irish member of Parliament was defeated because he had voted for it.

Pitt intended the Union to be immediately followed by measures admitting the Catholics into the Imperial Parliament, paying the priests, and commuting the tithes. If these three measures, or even if the last two (which were, in truth, the most important), had been promptly carried, the Union might have become popular. The Catholic question had, of late, been greatly mismanaged. The chief men who directed the government in Ireland were bitterly opposed to any concession of political power to the Catholics, but the views of the English ministers had been materially changed. They desired above all things to separate the Catholics from the United Irishmen, and in 1793 they forced upon their reluctant advisers in Ireland an act which extended the suffrage to the vast ignorant Catholic masses, though it left the Catholic gentry still excluded from Parliament. Two years later Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over with instructions to postpone the question if possible, but with authority, as he believed, to carry emancipation if it could not be postponed, and he found the Irish Parliament perfectly prepared to pass it. But the opposition of the King and a question of patronage produced a fatal division and led to the recall of the Viceroy. The passions aroused by the rebellion greatly increased the difficulties of admitting

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Catholics to a separate Parliament, but there is clear evidence that at the time of the Union the Irish Protestants were in favor of their admission into the imperial one. The dispositions of the King were well known, but it was believed that, if the scheme of Pitt was submitted to him as the matured policy of an united cabinet, he must have yielded. It is well known how the plan was prematurely revealed; how Pitt resigned office when the King refused his consent; how the agitation of the question threw the King into an access of insanity; and how Pitt then promised that he would not again raise it during the reign. Pitt's conduct on this occasion is, and probably always will be, differently judged. There can be but one opinion of its calamitous effect upon Irish history.

Ninety years have passed since the Union, and the conditions of Ireland have completely changed. The whole system of religious disqualification and commercial disability has long since passed away. Every path has been thrown open, and English professions, as well as the great colonial and Indian services, are crowded with Irishmen. The Established Church no longer exists. Representation has been placed on a broadly democratic basis, giving Ireland, however, an absurdly disproportioned weight in the representation of the kingdom, and its poorest and most backward districts an absurdly disproportioned weight in the representation of Ireland. Finally, an attempt has been made to put down agrarian agitation by legislation to which there is no real parallel in English history, and some parts of which would have been impossible under the Constitution of the United States. Landlords who possessed by the clearest title known to English law the most absolute ownership of their estates have been converted into mere rent-chargers. Tenants who entered upon their tenancies under formal written contracts for limited periods have been rooted forever on the soil. Rents have been reduced by judicial sentence, with complete disregard both to previous contracts and to market value, and the legal owner has had no option of refusing the change and reëntering on the occupation of his land. A scheme of purchase, too, based upon imperial credit, has been established and will probably soon be largely extended, which is so extravagantly and almost grotesquely favorable to the tenant that it enables him by paying for the space of forty-nine years, instead of his reduced judicial rent, an annual sum

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which is considerably smaller, to purchase the freehold of his farm. It is a simple and incontestable truth that neither in the United States, nor in England, nor in any portion of the continent of Europe, is the agricultural tenant so favored by law as in Ireland, or anything of the nature of landlord oppression made so impossible. But though agitation has diminished, it has not ceased, and the great body of the poorer Catholics still follow the banner of home rule.

About a third of the population of Ireland, on the other hand, regard home rule as the greatest catastrophe that could befall themselves, their country, or the empire; and it is worthy of notice that they include almost all the descendants of Grattan's Parliament, and of the volunteers, and of those classes who in the eighteenth century sustained the spirit of nationality in Ireland. Belfast and the surrounding counties, which alone in Ireland have attained the full height and vigor of English industrial civilization; almost all the Protestants, both Episcopalian and Nonconformist; almost all the Catholic gentry; the decided preponderance of Catholics in the lay professions, and a great and guiding section of the Catholic middle class are on the same side. Their conviction does not rest upon any abstract doctrine about the evil of federal governments or of local parliaments. It rests upon their firm persuasion that in the existing conditions of Ireland no parliament could be established there which could be trusted to fulfil the most elementary conditions of honest government—to maintain law; to protect property; to observe or enforce contracts; to secure the rights and liberties of individuals and minorities; to act loyally in times of difficulty and danger in the interests of the empire.

They know that the existing home-rule movement has grown up under the guidance and by the support of men who are implacable enemies to the British Empire; that it has been for years the steady object of its leaders to inspire the Irish masses with feelings of hatred to that empire, contempt for contracts, defiance of law and of those who administer it; that, having signally failed in rousing the agricultural population in a national struggle, those leaders resolved to turn the movement into an organized attack upon landed property; that in the prosecution of this enterprise they have been guilty, not only of measures which are grossly and palpably dishonest, but also of an amount

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of intimidation, of cruelty, of systematic disregard for individual freedom scarcely paralleled in any country during the present century; and finally that, through subscriptions which are not drawn from Ireland, political agitation in Ireland has become a large and highly lucrative trade—a trade which, like most others, will no doubt continue as long as it pays.

The nature, methods, and objects of the organization which would probably exercise a dominant influence over an Irish parliament have been established by overwhelming evidence and beyond all reasonable doubt, after a long, careful, and most impartial judicial investigation. I do not know whether the report of the late special commissioners and the evidence on which it is founded have been reprinted in America, or whether many Americans have studied the admirable work in which Professor Dicey—perhaps the ablest of living writers on political subjects—has very recently summed up their conclusions. American readers may find in these works abundant evidence of the true character of the Irish home-rule movement. If they read them with impartiality, they will, I believe, have little difficulty in concluding that there have been few political movements in the nineteenth century which are less deserving of the respect or support of honest men.

W. E. H. Lecky.

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# THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

BY THE HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

THE immigration into the United States from 1874 to 1889, inclusive,—a period of sixteen years,—has amounted to 6,418,633 persons, without counting since 1884 the overland immigration from Canada or Mexico. To put it in another form, the immigration into the United States during the last sixteen years is equal to one-tenth of the entire population of the country at the present time, and has furnished probably every four years enough voters to decide a Presidential election, if rightly distributed. During those sixteen years immigration has fluctuated with the business prosperity of the country, the highest point being reached in 1881 and 1882, 720,645 persons arriving in the former year and 730,349 in the latter, while the average annual immigration has been 401,164. If we divide these sixteen years into two periods of eight years each, one of the two heaviest years coming in the first and one in the second half, we find that for the eight years from 1874 to 1881, inclusive, the average annual rate of immigration was 307,185, and for the eight years from 1882 to 1889, inclusive, it was 482,643—a gain of 57.1 per cent. During the last eight years the exclusion of the Chinese since 1882 has caused the immigration from Asia to decline from over thirty thousand to a few hundreds annually, and in addition to this real loss no attempt has been made since 1883 to compute the very heavy overland immigration from Canada, which, of course, makes a still further apparent decrease. Yet, despite these important deductions, there has been the large gain of 175,458 persons in the average annual immigration of the last eight years as compared with the eight years next preceding. As it is thus apparent that immigration is increasing in quantity, the next point is to determine its quality.

In the consular reports on "Emigration and Immigration,"

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published by the State Department in 1887, when Mr. Bayard was Secretary, a table is given which classifies the immigration into the United States from 1873 to 1886, inclusive, as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Professional | 31,803 |
| Skilled | 587,349 |
| Miscellaneous | 2,052,294 |
| Occupation not stated | 128,782 |
| Without occupation | 2,596,188 |

Taking the table as it stands, and throwing out those immigrants "with occupations not stated," it appears that of all the vast immigration during those fourteen years 48.1 per cent., or nearly one-half, are persons avowedly without occupation or training, or, in other words, unskilled labor of the lowest kind, while professional and skilled labor amounts to only 11.49 per cent. of the whole. "Miscellaneous," which is neither skilled nor professional labor, amounts to 38 per cent. It may be assumed that the same proportions hold good for the three years from 1886 to 1889, and it must be noted also that the detailed tables indicate that the number of persons without occupation increases in a slightly larger ratio than the rate of increase of the total immigration.

These figures give an idea of the general character of the foreign immigration into the United States during a long period of fourteen years. It is more important, however, to determine whether the immigration of this general character improves or deteriorates as it increases. This can be ascertained best by examining the rate of increase in the immigration from the different countries from which it chiefly comes during the two periods of eight years each from 1874 to 1881 and from 1882 to 1889, respectively :

| | Annual average. | | Percentage of difference. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1874-1881. | 1882-1889. | | |
| France | 6,064 | 4,885 | 19.4 | Decrease. |
| Norway | 10,767 | 16,862 | 59.5 | Increase. |
| Great Britain and Ireland | 86,649 | 145,461 | 67.8 | " |
| Germany | 76,416 | 135,052 | 76.7 | " |
| Switzerland | 4,159 | 7,831 | 88.3 | " |
| Netherlands | 2,535 | 4,847 | 91.2 | " |
| Sweden | 18,224 | 37,730 | 107. | " |
| Denmark | 4,042 | 8,663 | 114.3 | " |
| Austria | 9,272 | 21,926 | 136.5 | " |
| Belgium | 847 | 2,023 | 138.8 | " |
| Poland | 1,691 | 4,498 | 166. | " |
| Italy | 7,893 | 30,474 | 286. | " |
| Russia | 5,430 | 21,567 | 297. | " |
| Hungary | 2,273 | 13,101 | 476.4 | " |

These percentages of increase are interesting and deeply significant. The nations of Europe which chiefly contributed to

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STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER AND NATIONALITY OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVED IN THE UNITED STATES DURING EACH YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, FROM 1874 TO 1889, INCLUSIVE.

| COUNTRIES. | 1874. | 1875. | 1876. | 1877. | 1878. | 1879. | 1880. | 1881. | 1882. | 1883. | 1884. | 1885. | 1886. | 1887. | 1888. | 1889. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England | 43,396 | 30,040 | 21,051 | 18,122 | 19,581 | 40,997 | 64,190 | 76,547 | 70,893 | 61,432 | 53,270 | 44,710 | 58,422 | 83,036 | 76,040 | 61,815 |
| Ireland | 47,688 | 29,969 | 16,506 | 13,791 | 17,113 | 27,651 | 84,799 | 70,909 | 72,937 | 83,654 | 58,589 | 49,793 | 52,912 | 72,888 | 71,966 | 60,492 |
| Scotland | 8,765 | 5,739 | 4,383 | 3,408 | 3,700 | 8,728 | 14,495 | 16,451 | 15,957 | 10,839 | 8,791 | 10,174 | 13,916 | 22,067 | 23,412 | 14,948 |
| Wales | 558 | 419 | 294 | 232 | 311 | 1,046 | 948 | 1,316 | 1,633 | 1,430 | 1,011 | 931 | 1,343 | 1,614 | 1,714 | 920 |
| Great Britain, not specified | 15 | 12 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 95 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 9 | 12 |
| Total Great Britain and Ireland | 100,422 | 66,179 | 42,243 | 35,554 | 40,706 | 78,424 | 164,438 | 165,230 | 161,428 | 157,361 | 121,756 | 105,610 | 126,601 | 179,609 | 173,141 | 138,187 |
| Austria | 6,891 | 6,039 | 6,047 | 4,376 | 4,881 | 6,259 | 18,252 | 21,437 | 13,315 | 17,928 | 20,688 | 16,456 | 22,006 | 24,786 | 28,809 | 26,424 |
| Belgium | 705 | 623 | 454 | 367 | 454 | 753 | 1,484 | 1,939 | 1,129 | 1,673 | 1,722 | 1,363 | 1,641 | 2,987 | 2,961 | 2,704 |
| Denmark | 3,188 | 1,951 | 1,624 | 1,617 | 2,688 | 3,532 | 8,778 | 8,951 | 12,769 | 9,747 | 7,633 | 5,870 | 6,634 | 9,305 | 8,756 | 8,597 |
| France | 8,741 | 8,607 | 6,723 | 5,127 | 4,608 | 4,121 | 4,939 | 5,653 | 5,560 | 4,016 | 3,690 | 3,138 | 4,085 | 5,604 | 6,872 | 6,118 |
| Germany | 56,927 | 36,565 | 31,323 | 27,417 | 31,958 | 43,531 | 134,040 | 249,572 | 232,269 | 184,389 | 155,529 | 107,668 | 86,301 | 111,324 | 106,975 | 95,965 |
| Gibraltar | 5 | 4 | 16 | 1 | ..... | 2 | 17 | 4 | 4 | 7 | ..... | 7 | 11 | 8 | 25 | 1 |
| Greece | 20 | 27 | 24 | 18 | 13 | 23 | 22 | 17 | 177 | 25 | 56 | 171 | 106 | 509 | 627 | 217 |
| Hungary | 852 | 747 | 475 | 540 | 632 | 1,518 | 6,668 | 6,756 | 11,602 | 12,308 | 10,708 | 9,181 | 18,110 | 14,301 | 12,856 | 15,746 |
| Italy (continental) | 5,787 | 3,315 | 2,862 | 3,610 | 5,163 | 9,027 | 12,756 | 20,101 | 29,349 | 29,512 | 14,441 | 15,480 | 30,472 | 46,185 | 47,424 | 29,609 |
| Italy (insular): | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sardinia | 8 | ..... | 1 | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 75 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Sicily | 72 | 29 | 116 | 48 | 228 | 14 | 25 | 2 | 13 | 25 | 52 | 5 | 93 | 71 | 432 | 629 |
| Islands of the Mediterranean: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Corsica | 1 | 1 | 1 | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | 2 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Crete | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Malta | 10 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | ..... | ..... | 4 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | ..... |
| Netherlands | 1,532 | 1,073 | 709 | 572 | 652 | 1,199 | 3,730 | 10,812 | 7,880 | 4,926 | 3,731 | 2,499 | 2,667 | 5,276 | 5,457 | 6,339 |
| Norway | 6,581 | 4,465 | 6,031 | 4,333 | 5,216 | 9,488 | 23,054 | 26,967 | 27,197 | 21,295 | 13,906 | 11,692 | 13,859 | 18,322 | 17,178 | 11,446 |
| Sweden | 4,336 | 6,031 | 5,204 | 4,774 | 6,176 | 16,659 | 46,723 | 55,892 | 60,413 | 32,596 | 24,017 | 21,568 | 32,222 | 51,236 | 48,845 | 31,005 |
| Portugal | 52 | 1,212 | 816 | 552 | 648 | 576 | 161 | 59 | 89 | 650 | 186 | 593 | 71 | 108 | 21 | 164 |
| Roumania | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 15 | 55 | 81 | 116 | 781 | 301 | 2,204 | 635 | 1,483 | 421 |
| Russia | 7,447 | 4,369 | 6,787 | 3,370 | 4,216 | 3,784 | 5,278 | 8,193 | 17,497 | 6,907 | 15,122 | 16,517 | 25,980 | 23,521 | 35,504 | 31,495 |
| Finland | 4 | 23 | 21 | 8 | 22 | 19 | 247 | 320 | 708 | 8,107 | 407 | 434 | 840 | 2,294 | 1,849 | 1,992 |
| Poland | 1,449 | 707 | 854 | 320 | 554 | 876 | 2,488 | 6,283 | 4,246 | 2,151 | 4,369 | 3,101 | 6,396 | 4,960 | 5,902 | 4,866 |
| Spain | 571 | 529 | 597 | 542 | 432 | 534 | 420 | 405 | 328 | 245 | 334 | 319 | 452 | 483 | 506 | 634 |
| Switzerland | 2,436 | 1,641 | 1,572 | 1,612 | 2,051 | 3,834 | 8,498 | 11,628 | 11,839 | 11,433 | 8,215 | 5,126 | 4,518 | 6,561 | 7,622 | 7,336 |
| Turkey in Europe | 21 | 36 | 46 | 25 | 23 | 34 | 62 | 50 | 118 | 80 | 187 | 155 | 178 | 171 | 247 | 234 |
| Heligoland | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 2 | ..... | ..... |
| Total all other Europe | 107,637 | 77,999 | 72,305 | 59.237 | 70,676 | 105,787 | 277,658 | 435,101 | 441,658 | 341,136 | 285,850 | 221,592 | 258,847 | 328,651 | 340,352 | 281,942 |
| Total Europe | 208,059 | 144,178 | 114,548 | 94,791 | 111,382 | 184,211 | 442,096 | 600,331 | 603,086 | 498,497 | 407,606 | 327,202 | 385,448 | 508,260 | 513,493 | 420,129 |

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the upbuilding of the original thirteen colonies were the English, the Scotch-Irish, so called, the Dutch, the Germans, and the Huguenot French. With the exception of the last they were practically all people of the same stock. During this century and until very recent years these same nations, with the addition of Ireland and the Scandinavian countries, have continued to furnish the chief component parts of the immigration which has helped to populate so rapidly the territory of the United States. Among all these people, with few exceptions, community of race or language, or both, has facilitated the work of assimilation. In the last ten years, however, as appears from the figures just given, new and wholly different elements have been introduced into our immigration, and—what is more important still—the rate of immigration of these new elements has risen with much greater rapidity than that of those which previously had furnished the bulk of the population of the country. The mass of immigration, absolutely speaking, continues, of course, to come from the United Kingdom and from Germany, but relatively the immigration from these two sources is declining rapidly in comparison with the immigration from Italy and from the Slavic countries of Russia, Poland, Hungary,* and Bohemia, the last of which appears under the head of Austria. Of the generally good character of the immigration from the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries it is hardly necessary to speak; but I will quote a single sentence from the State Department report already referred to, in regard to the immigration from the United Kingdom and Germany:

"The diagrams show the remarkable predominance of the United Kingdom and Germany in supplying the United States with skilled labor, and also the fact that the Germans represent those industries that depend upon hand labor or the requirements of everyday life, while the English supply the mechanical element. While Germany sends blacksmiths, butchers, carpenters, coopers, saddlers, shoemakers, and tailors, the United Kingdom supplies miners, engineers, iron- and steel-workers, mechanics and artisans, weavers and spinners. This distinction is clearly marked and is certainly important."

Now as to the immigration from the other countries, which has been increasing so much faster than that to which we have been accustomed, and which we know from experience to be in the

* The Hungarian immigration appears to be mainly Slavic, and not Magyar, and hence I have classified it with that of the Slavic countries.

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main valuable. Consul-General Jüssen says in his report (1886) in regard to the Austrian immigration :

"The young men who want to escape military service, the ultra-socialist, the anarchist, the men who have lost all social and business footing here, the bankrupt, embezzler, and swindler, stop not to obtain permission of the government, and naturally the authorities have no sort of record here either as to the number or the place of destination of this class of emigrants. . . . The government would, as a matter of course, prohibit, if it could do so, the emigration of all young men subject to military duty, but it is quite natural that it feels no regret to get rid of the ultra-socialists and anarchists, and that it is quite willing the bankrupt and swindler should depart for foreign countries and that the paupers should find support away from home."

He also speaks as follows in regard to the Bohemian emigration, which forms a large part of that which is classed under the head of Austria :

"The labor and agricultural classes of Bohemia probably supply the greatest number of emigrants to the United States, and among the Bohemian industrial laborers some of the most violent ultra-socialists are to be found. The great majority of these Bohemian laborers, both of the industrial and agricultural class, are illiterate and ignorant in the extreme. They stand in great awe of the police authorities at home."

In regard to Hungarian emigration, Mr. Sterne, consul at Budapesth, speaks (1886) as follows :

"I am of the opinion that with the present condition of the labor market in the United States there is no room there at present for this class of people. I even believe that under more favorable conditions in the United States these Slovacks are not a desirable acquisition for us to make, since they appear to have so many items in common with the Chinese. Like these, they are extremely frugal, the love of whiskey of the former being balanced by the opium habit of the latter. Their ambition lacks both in quality and quantity. Thus they will work similarly cheap as the Chinese, and will interfere with a civilized laborer's earning a 'white' laborer's wages."

The emigration from Italy comes largely from the southern provinces—from Naples and Sicily ; a smaller proportion being drawn from the finer population of northern Italy. In regard to this Italian emigration, Mr. Alden, consul-general at Rome, says (1886) :

"As to the habits and morals of the emigrants to the United States from the northern and central portions of Italy, both men and women are sober and industrious, and as a rule trustworthy and moral. They are generally strong, powerful workers, and capable of enduring great fatigue. A less favorable view may be taken of the emigrants from the southern districts and Sicily. These are the most illiterate parts of Italy, and in these districts brigandage was for many years extremely prevalent."

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In regard to the emigration from Russia, Mr. Young, the consul-general, says (1886) :

"The government of Russia does not encourage emigration. On the contrary, it prohibits all Russian subjects from leaving the empire of Russia, except Poles and Jews. . . . The Mennonites have emigrated perhaps more extensively than any other class of Russian subjects. . . . The lowest classes generally form the greater part of emigration."

Thus it is proved, first, that immigration to this country is increasing, and, second, that it is making its greatest relative increase from races most alien to the body of the American people and from the lowest and most illiterate classes among those races. In other words, it is apparent that, while our immigration is increasing, it is showing at the same time a marked tendency to deteriorate in character.

It has been the policy of the United States until very recent years to encourage immigration in all possible ways, which was, under the circumstances, a wise and obvious course to pursue. The natural growth of the people established in the thirteen colonies was not sufficient to occupy or develop the vast territory and valuable resources of the Union. We therefore opened our arms to the people of every land and invited them to come in, and when all the region beyond the Alleghanies, or even beyond the Mississippi, was still a wilderness, the general wisdom of this policy could not be gainsaid. To the practical advantages to be gained from the rapid filling-up of the country we also joined the sentimental and generous reason that this free country was to be a haven of refuge for the unfortunate of every land.

This liberality toward immigration, combined with the normal growth of the population, in the course of the present century rapidly filled the country, and the conditions under which, at the outset we had opened our doors and asked every one to come in changed radically. The first sign of an awakening to this altered state of things was in the movement against the Chinese. When that great reservoir of cheap labor was opened and when its streams began to pour into the United States, the American people, first on the western coast and then elsewhere, suddenly were roused to the fact that they were threatened with a flood of low-class labor which would absolutely destroy good rates of wages among American workingmen by a competition which could not be met, and which at the same time threatened to lower

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the quality of American citizenship. The result was the Chinese-Exclusion Act, much contested in its inception, but the wisdom of which everybody now admits. The next awakening came upon the discovery that employers of labor were engaged in making contracts with large bodies of working people in other countries, and importing them into the United States to work for a remuneration far below that which American workmen were accustomed to receive. This resulted in the passage of the Alien Contract-Labor Law, intended to stop the importation of this low-priced labor. No one doubts to-day that the general principle of that law is sound, although its details are defective and its enforcement so imperfect that it has little practical effect.

Such have been the actual departures thus far from the former policy of the United States in regard to immigration. That they were needed is certain. That they are insufficient appears to be equally so. The committee of the Fiftieth Congress appointed by Speaker Carlisle to investigate the subject of immigration say at the close of their report:

"Certainly the effect of the present unrestricted system of immigration, as applicable to the conditions under consideration, upon the industrial situation of this country, has been very bad, and the committee believe that the time has come when immigration should be more effectively regulated; that persons who immigrate to the United States should at least be composed of those who in good faith desire to become its citizens and are worthy to be such."

As one example of the practical effect of unrestricted immigration the committee cite the case of the coal-mining country.

"Generally speaking, the class of immigrants who have lately been imported and employed in the coal regions of this country are not such, in the opinion of the committee, as would make desirable inhabitants of the United States. They are of a very low order of intelligence. They do not come here with the intention of becoming citizens; their whole purpose being to accumulate by parsimonious, rigid, and unhealthy economy a sum of money and then return to their native land. They live in miserable sheds like beasts; the food they eat is so meagre, scant, unwholesome, and revolting that it would nauseate and disgust an American workman, and he would find it difficult to sustain life upon it. Their habits are vicious, their customs are disgusting, and the effect of their presence here upon our social condition is to be deplored. They have not the influences, as we understand them, of a home; they do not know what the word means; and, in the opinion of the committee, no amount of effort would improve their morals or 'Americanize' this class of immigrants. They have been brought here in such numbers, and have been employed at such low wages, that it has resulted in their replacing the American citizens who formerly performed



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this class of labor, until now there are comparatively few Americans engaged in mining coal in Pennsylvania."

The state of facts thus set forth by this committee, of which Mr. Ford, of Michigan, was chairman, grows out of changed conditions. We no longer have endless tracts of fertile land crying for settlement. Many parts of the United States, it is true, are still unsettled, and much of our territory is sparsely inhabited as compared to the standards of Europe. None the less, the conditions have changed utterly from the days when the supply of vacant land was indefinite, the demand for labor almost unbounded, and the supply of people very limited. We have now a large population, the natural increase of which is quite sufficient to take up our unoccupied lands and develop our resources with due rapidity. In many parts of the country the struggle for existence in large cities has become as fierce as in the old world. Our labor market, if we may judge from the statistics of the unemployed, is overstocked in many places, and that means a tendency toward a decline in wages. This tendency is perilous both socially and politically. In a country where every man has a vote, and where the government is of and by the people, it is as essential as it is right everywhere that the rate of wages should be high and the average standard of living good. If it comes to be otherwise, our whole system is in serious danger.

That this is not a fanciful anxiety is only too readily proved. Any one who is desirous of knowing in practical detail the degrading effect of this constant importation of the lowest forms of labor can find a vivid picture of its results in the very interesting book just published by Mr. Riis, entitled "How the Other Half Lives." The story which he tells of the condition of a large mass of the laboring population in the city of New York is enough to alarm every thinking man; and this dreadful condition of things is intensified every day by the steady inflow of immigration, which is constantly pulling down the wages of the working people of New York and affecting in a similar way the entire labor market of the United States.

In a word, the continued introduction into the labor market of four hundred thousand persons annually, half of whom have no occupation and most of whom represent the rudest form of labor, has a very great effect in reducing the rates of wages and disturbing the labor market. This, of course, is too obvious

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to need comment, and this tendency to constantly lower wages by the competition of an increasing and deteriorating immigration is a danger to the people of the United States the gravity of which can hardly be overestimated. Moreover, the shifting of the sources of the immigration is unfavorable, and is bringing to the country people whom it is very difficult to assimilate and who do not promise well for the standard of civilization in the United States—a matter as serious as the effect on the labor market.

The question, therefore, arises,—and there is no more important question before the American people,—What shall be done to protect our labor against this undue competition, and to guard our citizenship against an infusion which seems to threaten deterioration? We have the power, of course, to prohibit all immigration, or to limit the number of persons to be admitted to the country annually, or—which would have the same effect—to impose upon immigrants a heavy capitation tax. Such rough and stringent measures are certainly neither necessary nor desirable if we can overcome the difficulties and dangers of the situation by more moderate legislation. These methods, moreover, are indiscriminate; and what is to be desired, if possible, is restriction which shall at the same time discriminate. We demand now that immigrants shall not be paupers or diseased or criminals, but these and all other existing requirements are vague, and the methods provided for their enforcement are still more indefinite and are perfectly ineffective. Any law, to be of use, must require, in the first place, that immigrants shall bring from their native country, from the United States consul or other diplomatic representative, an effective certificate that they are not obnoxious to any of the existing laws of the United States. We ought, in addition, to make our test still more definite by requiring a medical certificate in order to exclude unsound and diseased persons.

In reference to this matter of medical inspection, Surgeon-General Hamilton, in his report just published, states, as an illustration of the inefficiency of the present law, that of fifteen insane persons and eleven idiots reported by the medical officer at New York, four of the insane and all of the idiots were permitted to land. In this same report, which is one of the ablest and most important papers that have appeared on the subject of immigration, Dr. Hamilton says further that every emigrant should "produce to the consul a certificate from a legally-qualified resi-

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dent physician to the effect that such emigrant is at the time suffering from no contagious or chronic disease or disability." Dr. Hamilton also states that at the present time there is no medical inspection whatever of immigrants except at the port of New York, and thus we have practically no protection against the importation of disease or insanity.

We ought also to insist that the consular certificate be given only after careful inquiry and due proof, and we must make a further definite test which will discriminate against illiteracy if we desire any intelligent restriction or sifting of the total mass of immigration. It is a truism to say that one of the greatest dangers to our free government is ignorance. Every one knows this to be the case, and that the danger can be overcome only by constant effort and vigilance. We spend millions annually in educating our children that they may be fit to be citizens and rulers of the Republic. We are ready to educate also the children who come to us from other countries; but it is not right to ask us to take annually a large body of persons who are totally illiterate and who are for the most part beyond the age at which education can be imparted. We have the right to exclude illiterate persons from our immigration, and this test, combined with the others of a more general character, would in all probability shut out a large part of the undesirable portion of the present immigration. It would reduce in a discriminating manner the total number of immigrants, and would thereby greatly benefit the labor market and help to maintain the rate of American wages. At the same time it would sift the immigrants who come to this country, and would shut out in a very large measure those elements which tend to lower the quality of American citizenship, and which now in many cases gather in dangerous masses in the slums of our great cities.

The measure proposed would benefit every honest immigrant who really desired to come to the United States and become an American citizen, and would stop none. It would exclude many, if not all, of those persons whose presence no one desires, and whose exclusion is demanded by our duty to our own citizens and to American institutions. Above all, it would be a protection and a help to our workingmen, who are more directly interested in this great question than any one else can possibly be.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

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# THE DOWRIES OF WOMEN IN FRANCE.

BY MADAME ADAM.

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A DOWRY! The one important word which fills the imaginations of young French girls from earliest childhood! Before the little girl has any idea of what a dowry is she begins to benefit by it, because the nurse of a child whose parents are moderately rich takes better care of her little charge than the nurse of a child of tradespeople or of those who "have not yet made their fortunes." The servants very soon teach the child that she is to have a dowry; that it will be easy for her to find an attractive husband. And among the children of relatives and friends of the family, her nurse does not fail to assert that "*She* is more important than you are," or "*She* is very rich," or "Your mothers and fathers will never let you marry a man without a cent, as they will let her."

At meals, in the drawing-room, the little girls often hear this grave subject discussed. A relative or a friend will some day say, either in fun or seriously: "This little one has nothing to complain of; with her dowry she will have no difficulty about getting married." Or, if the dowry is small: "Your daughter is pretty, and with her little dowry she is sure of not having to *coiffer Ste. Catherine.*" *Coiffer Ste. Catherine*—that is, not to be married—is the one great fear that induces many who could find no one good enough for them formerly to marry what La Fontaine calls the *malotru* of proud girls.

A rich father in the middle class in France frequently tells his daughter: "You know, my child, your mother and I have managed well. Your future is assured. You do not need to throw yourself at the head of the first comer. Don't fall foolishly in love with a poor man. A girl in your position can at least look for an equal match." The French middle classes have always

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kept up the customs instituted by Louis Philippe, who was their especial king. They think much more of getting rich than of inspiring an admiration for ability.

If the young girl has no dowry, she often hears her father and mother regretting it. "Since we cannot give our child a dowry, she must be well educated." And her mother will tell her in a serious tone at least once: "You hold your fate in your hands; you must marry yourself; you must be pleasing. Eligible husbands will not come to you, and the good souls who marry the women they love will not think of you until they have exhausted the stock of their acquaintances who have dowries. You must find some one who will take you for your pretty face."

There are, therefore, two classes among marriageable girls, who are often closely related, who live in the same general circumstances of life, but who are totally different in character and attractions—those with and those without a dowry. Even in the tone which one uses in pronouncing these two phrases there is the secret of many a foolish vanity or unmerited bitterness.

The girl without a dowry takes great pains with young men; she runs after them; she tries to be entertaining; not having any dowry for a background, she attempts to attract them. She always possesses some talents, whatever they may be. Either she makes her own clothes and knows how to dress at almost no expense with more taste than others, or she becomes something of an artist in music or painting, or else she knows a foreign language, which among the middle classes is the height of complete education. Even if she does not possess any of these accomplishments, she makes it a point to know how to talk, in order to appear witty. She chats with very young men, mixes in their conversation, astonishes them, dazzles them; but if she succeeds in putting her pin into the body of a masculine butterfly, he is either extremely young, or a widower, or very old; the men in the middle class being the only ones who commit the folly of marrying a girl without a dowry. For if, by any chance, a young man who could hope to marry a rich girl marries one who is charming but poor, then all the mothers,—whether in Paris or in the country,—all the sisters, all the cousins, all the friends of the girls who have dowries and are also attractive, groan in chorus! They grieve over it. They ask: "What are we coming to?" And straightway they find that the present is an extraordinary

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age, and that the "end of the century" is overturning all the ideas known and respected up to the present time.

Girls who have dowries are sought after. People have themselves presented to them, and flatter the parents. They pay the young girls a thousand delicate attentions. And though their beauty and their charms are inferior to those of girls without dowries, they are surrounded and complimented; and the more modest their bearing is, the more one augurs that they will not bring exacting claims with their dowries into their household. For the dowry has this disadvantage for the husband, that the girl who has infatuated him with five, ten, twenty, or thirty thousand pounds' income, believes that she can spend it all in her own household expenses. At the present time in France, because of the growing tendency of married women to spend the incomes of their dowries themselves, many young men hesitate to marry.

Then comes the drawing-up of the marriage contract, which is of so much importance to the relatives, and which is to be the crowning point of an edifice that has been laboriously built. When the personal property of the bride and bridegroom has been talked over for a long time, and when the "business" of what the older people of the two families call the "serious side of life" has given place to discussions which often last weeks, then the notary reads his sketch of the marriage contract to the assembled relatives, and often even then there are higher bids in the market. The young girl and the young man are both informed by their relatives of all the discussions that take place, and very often, thanks to their youth, they are offended by them. But if they venture an indignant remark, some one answers: "Lovers are all alike. Love dies and money remains. You will thank us later."

The day for the signing of the contract comes at last. The victorious or dogged expressions on the different faces this day are a prophecy of the disturbances which the young couple have before them.

The traditional mother-in-law in France — ridiculed in theatres and made odious in the drama—is seen, alas! only too often in real life. Not that she is the *maitresse femme* —that is, the one who takes charge of everything; not that she makes her husband do what she wishes; nor even that she is often insupportable,—these are of small account; but when,

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after having brought about a good marriage for her son or daughter by her schemes, she becomes jealous of their happiness, then there is no fury that can equal her.

The question of money in the dowry is the tender spot in all French marriages. A poor girl who goes into a rich family of the middle class of society has to climb a veritable Calvary before she can be united to the man she loves. All the circumstances connected with the wedding presents, with the furniture which her *fiancé* buys, all the matters connected with her trousseau and with the contract which establishes her share of the property in the future, are so many humiliating obstacles which distress her to the heart, and inflict upon her pride wounds that will never cease to bleed. To what length do these well-known defects and intrigues extend! And how many young girls go sorrowfully to marriage with the feeling—the certainty—that they are being married for their dowries.

There is no class in French society, from the peasant to the nobleman, where the same spirit of covetousness and the same scenes do not reappear proportionately, altered only by the different systems for the settlements of the bride's personal property—that is, her dowry. Equal marriages or equal conditions of marriage among the peasants, or the middle class, or the aristocracy, are called *mariages de convenance;* and they are generally the happiest, not because they bring the blessed joys of choice and love with them, but because, owing to the fact that the prejudices of French families in the matter of dowry are not in that case shocked or forced to make concessions or sacrifices, the life of the young people flows on less disturbed by reproaches, less tormented, and therefore happier.

Young French girls in general envy American girls; those without a dowry, because a dowry is not a necessity in the new world, and the absence of one is not a sign of inferiority; those who have large dowries, on the other hand, from the fact that they are jealous of American girls because they see that in America, where they would not need a dowry, they would be married and loved for themselves; and that is the dream of most of them.

The dowry not only plays the most important part in nuptial arrangements and in family matters from the top to the bottom of the social scale in France, but it is a weighty matter in

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the relations of the husband and wife, and also with regard to their children in questions of inheritance, of will, etc.

The reader will pardon me for giving a serious basis to this study concerning the rights of married women over their dowries or in respect to them, by a short explanation such as a consulting lawyer might give.

If, then, in the marriage contract the husband and wife have adopted the *régime de la communauté*,* the husband has the sole administration of all the property of both, including the dowry which the parents have given their daughter and which she has brought to the marriage. When the husband manages the affairs of this system badly, before the dowry has been touched, or even menaced, the wife can bring to an end this situation, which is so disturbing and dangerous to herself and her children. But she must appeal to the courts of justice, and have the *séparation de biens* † declared.

She then finds herself in the position that she would be in if at the time of the drawing-up of the marriage contract they had adopted the *régime de la séparation de biens*, which I will explain in a moment. When an important event brings about the dissolution of the community,—as for example, the death of the husband, or divorce, or separation without divorce,—the wife can break it off and simply keep what is called her *reprisals*—that is, her dowry and what she has happened to inherit during the existence of the community. But in this case she must abandon all her rights under the marriage contract, even that of the control of the administration of the system itself.

In this case she is not usually responsible for the bad management on the part of her husband, nor for his debts, unless she has personally engaged herself, or has signed her name to those papers which many husbands compel their wives to sign either by threats or by using force, as in the case of the Duc de Guise and Henry III. If she has been able to escape this fatal signature, she will, like the other creditors, take her share of the assets left by her husband. Here the law accords one great favor to the wife—*i. e.*, a mortgage on her husband's real estate, the

* A term in French law, meaning "a system of legislative dispositions by which husband and wife enjoy their common property between them."

† A system by which each party to the marriage has the administration of his or her own property to a certain extent.

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better to assure her of the recovery of her dowry; and this mortgage, dating from the day of her marriage, has a value of a very high order, because it takes precedence over the claims of her husband's creditors since the marriage.

The word "real estate" goes back to the law of 1804. At that time personal securities scarcely existed, and counted for little. So that to-day all that is not real estate is lost in the community, which without some other arrangement would be contrary to the spirit of the law. For the law at the time it was made protected the larger part of the wife's property, while to-day it does not, since what is not real estate cannot be recovered under the terms of the legal community, That is, the growth of the importance of personal property has rendered the old statute insufficient to-day.

But the law foresees these difficulties; and now when a contract is being made, it is always stipulated that the community shall be confined to the property owned in common by the husband and wife. In this case, when the wife sues because of bad management on the part of her husband, she takes back all her dowry, both real and personal, and all that she has obtained by inheritance, or in the form of legacies, or as gifts since her marriage.

The system generally adopted, especially in northern France, is the *régime de la communauté*, modified by a contract with reference to personal property. But these restrictions do not change the husband's right to administer the property until he has shown bad management.

If those about to marry adopt the *régime de la séparation de biens*, the wife preserves the entire administration of her own property, real and personal, and the free enjoyment of her income. Then the husband and wife both contribute to the household expenses, following the agreement secured in the contract at the time of marriage. If these agreements have not been made, the wife contributes to the expenses of the family to the amount of one-third of her income.

This is the substance of Articles 1,536 and 1,537 of the civil code.

I make a digression here. In the case of the separation of property and of separation without divorce, not now by contract, but by judicial process, the wife is obliged to pay off the encum-

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brances on the marriage settlements proportionately to her resources and those of her husband, and entirely, if he has nothing left. In the case of separation without divorce alone, there is only the question of the education of the children, since there is no longer any household to keep up.

The law adds that the wife cannot pledge her income in the separation of property, either by contract or by judicial process, nor can she mortgage it. This is a most singular contradiction, because the law has permitted her, on the one hand, a certain reservation and distrust with regard to her husband, while, on the other, even when she is separated from him who has managed the property badly, or to whom she has not had the confidence to give the management of it, she cannot be free in the matter of this management herself without his consent.

The law allows the wife to dispose of her real estate. Formerly, as we have just seen, the interpretation of the law was that personal securities were not of great importance, and they were absorbed by the community pure and simple. Now there is another interpretation given to the matter, since personal securities are not now treated in this case as personal property, but have the importance of real estate. Here is a contradiction in interpretations, because the letter of the law refuses this second meaning unless some reservation has been made with regard to the property common to husband and wife.

How astonishing it is that the courts so often give contrary judgments and vary more or less in their interpretations of the matters they pass judgment upon! In principle a woman separated but not divorced is only mistress of the administration of her dowry, but not of the dowry itself. She can make leases for seven years, can use her income, can pledge her income for a year ahead at the most, and can make arrangements for repairs on her real estate; and that is all.

Certain courts have given the decision that she can make securities standing in her name payable to bearer, but in spite of these decisions banking houses and trust companies make it a difficult matter for her to transfer her securities, and they maintain that they cannot make this transferrence without the authorization of the husband (though judged unworthy), or without the authorization of a court of justice.

There is here, then, a badly-defined field which nourishes

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these contests without profit to any one, except to those in the *basoche*—to use a colloquial term which includes the lawyers, the witnesses, and those who live off the courts of justice in Paris.

The adversaries of the law of divorce wished, in a statute proposed by them, to strengthen and extend the rights of women separated but not divorced from their husbands in matters which concern the reclaiming of their dowries, legacies, and gifts. But nothing came of it.

To-day a woman is rendered absolutely independent by divorce. Her fortune and that of her husband have nothing to do with each other. She is perfectly secure, and her dowry belongs to her beyond dispute. It is a curious circumstance that in case of a rupture in married life, of divorce especially, the dowry of a French woman becomes a boon that cannot be enjoyed, because her family will seldom permit a divorce. For divorce, though allowable in law, has not yet been generally accepted in France, and a woman would find herself in reality without resources.

I forgot to mention that a woman separated but not divorced cannot litigate without her husband's consent; and this has been subject to so many abuses that the difficulties to which it has given rise have done much to make the Divorce Law generally acceptable to the public. The system of the separation of property is often adopted by tradespeople to put the fortunes of their children beyond the possible changes of these doubtful privileges.

Finally, there is one other form, the *régime dotal*,* which comes from Roman law, and is almost universally adopted in southern France, where the Roman occupation lasted for centuries. The girl's dowry and all her property coming after marriage are *inalienable* while she remains in the married state, even if both husband and wife desire to change to some other system. There are, nevertheless, some exceptions to this, which are fixed by law, such as settlements on the children, provision for the family if they fall into want, and for large repairs on real estate included in the dowry. Clauses are sometimes added to this system by common consent in the contract, and stipulations are made that it shall be possible to alienate the property included in the dowry, but only on condition that the amount be determined by some method agreed upon.

* A French legal phrase, meaning "a system of legislative dispositions which govern the relation of husband and wife when the property of the wife continues in her."

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There, again, the husband has the sole administration of the property included in the dowry. There can always be stipulations that the wife may annually take a part of her income for her support and personal wants, but she must give receipts in her own name.

If all the wife's property that has accrued to her since marriage has not been mentioned in the contract as a part of her dowry, she has the administration of that portion just as in the case of the separation of property.

The dotal system is very unfavorable to the husband. It is universal in the south, where from an early date it has been the usual system, but in the north it is rarely found, and is frequently the cause of a rupture while the marriage arrangements are going on. Besides, it suggests an absolute defiance of the son-in-law on the part of the bride's parents, and presumed weakness on the bride's part with respect to her husband. It often happens, when a young girl is very much in love with a poor man, that her parents force him to take a position in the contract that is deeply humiliating. And you can imagine the agreeable relations that are likely to exist between him and his wife's parents—relations which are very often the cause of an unhappy future for the young pair.

Let me go back.

The *régime de la communauté* leaves the husband sole master.

The *régime de la séparation de biens*, from the point of view of the wife's emancipation, offers more advantages than the other two systems, but it loses all force if the wife allows her husband to secure her power of attorney.

The *régime dotal*, on the contrary, protects the wife against herself—which is a curious thing.

There is only one province in the north of France where the dotal system is in favor; that is Normandy. The women of Normandy have a peculiar character. They have a more important place in the household of the peasants and middle classes; and whereas in the south the dotal system gives the wife a little freedom, in the north it gives her entire freedom in her own affairs.

It has been necessary, I think, to explain what influence the dowry exerts in French marriages, and to review the legislation in regard to it. Reading about the different systems is rather dry work, but it is the only way to show clearly what place and what importance the dowry has, and what opportuni-

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ties for dispute and for judgment it offers in marriages in France, whether they be among the rich or the poor. "Love comes when it can, and that is the young couple's affair." And almost every one adds that, "if it does not come before, it will come afterwards." The important thing is that the financial matters shall be clearly settled, and that they shall make a solid basis for married life, where, unfortunately, they are fast coming to be the most important thing. More and more in France young people marry, not from attraction for one another, not for love, but for the dowry; and this, too, at a time when the parents are less and less able to give large dowries, because money is depreciating day by day. So that here in France we can only fear a greater falling-off in marriages and population than that which prevails now, and which is certainly caused in a great measure among people of small means by the question of dowry.

Let some one tell me the remedy. I do not see it.

JULIETTE ADAM.

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# A WITNESS FOR WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

BY DR. WILLIAM J. ROLFE.

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THE Hon. Ignatius Donnelly's article in the December number of THE REVIEW adds nothing new to the Bacon-Shakespeare discussion. In replying to it, I shall begin with what I believe to be a "new departure" in the discussion. It would not be strange, however, if the proposed line of argument had been anticipated in some of the many articles on the "pro-Shakespearian" side which I have not read.

The fundamental assumption of Donnelly and the Baconians in general is that the Folio of 1623 was *edited by Bacon*, being a collection of his plays carefully revised, corrected, and put into the shape in which he desired to hand them down to posterity.

The Shakespearians, on the other hand, assume that the Folio is just what it purports to be—a collection of Shakespeare's plays made seven years after his death by two of his fellow-actors, who had no skill or experience in editing, and whose share in bringing out the book appears to have been limited to putting into the hands of the publishers the best copies of the plays they could get; these being partly manuscripts used in the theatre, and partly the earlier quarto editions of single plays, which had also been used by the actors in learning their parts.

The Folio is accessible, either in the original or in photographic or other *fac-similes*, to every reader of this REVIEW who may be interested in verifying my description of it. The cheapest of these reproductions of the volume can be bought at any bookseller's for two dollars and a half.

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Now, I venture to assert that internal evidence shows, beyond the possibility of doubt or question, that the plays in the Folio could not have been carefully revised and seen through the press by their author or by any person who had had experience in editing, printing, or publishing. That Francis Bacon could have edited them or supervised their publication is inconceivable—except to a fool or a Baconian.

The Folio is a volume of about nine hundred pages (906, to be exact, including the page facing the title and occupied by Ben Jonson's verses in praise of the portrait of Shakespeare on the title), containing thirty-six of the thirty-seven plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare ("Pericles" being omitted), arranged, as in the majority of modern editions, under the heads of "Comedies," "Histories," and "Tragedies." These three divisions are paged separately, but have no special headings, except in the table of contents, in which, it may be noted, the play of "Troilus and Cressida" is omitted.

The typographical execution, according to Collier (as quoted in "The Great Cryptogram," p. 550), "does credit to the age," being "on the whole, remarkably accurate." He adds: "So desirous were the editors and printers of correctness that they introduced changes for the better even while the sheets were in progress through the press." These corrections, however, are few and far between, and they are mostly of such palpable errors of the type as might catch the eye of the printer while working off the sheets.* It should be understood, moreover, that Collier, like other Shakespeare editors, assumes that the Folio had no editing worthy the name, and that the "copy" furnished to the printers was mutilated manuscripts and wretchedly-printed quarto editions used in the theatre. The typographical faults and defects of the volume were due to the "copy" rather than to the printer. Grant White (see his *first* edition of Shakespeare, vol. i., p. cclvii.) says: "The defects and blemishes of the first Folio must

*For instance, in the last scene of "King Lear" (see the Hon. A. A. Adee's scholarly introduction to the Bankside edition of the play, p. lxii.) the Phœnix Folio in the library of Columbia College has the stage direction, "*He dis.*" Dr. H. H. Furness's copy has "*He dies.*" Staunton's photographic *fac-simile* reads "*He dis.*" I suspect that here "*He dies*" is the earliest impression, and that the others are due to displacement of the type while the "form" was on the press. A clearer instance of *correction* is in the page-number 214 in the "Comedies," which appears as 212 in some copies. The numbers of pages 51 and 278 of the "Tragedies" are said also to vary in different copies.

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be attributed merely to the lack of proper editorial supervision; for its general appearance shows that it was designed to be a first-rate book for its day." The "defects and blemishes" he states thus:

"Beside minor errors, the correction of which is obvious, words are in some cases so transformed as to be past recognition, even with the aid of the context; lines are transposed; sentences are sometimes broken by a full point followed by a capital letter, and at other times have their members displaced and mingled in incomprehensible confusion; verse is printed as prose, and prose as verse; speeches belonging to one character are given to another; and, in brief, all possible varieties of typographical derangement may be found in this volume, in the careful printing of which the after world had so deep an interest."

Craik, in his "English of Shakespeare" (Rolfe's edition, p. 15), says:

"As a typographical production it is better executed than the common run of the English popular printing of that date. It is rather superior, for instance, in point of appearance, and very decidedly in correctness, to the Second Folio, produced nine years later. Nevertheless, it is obviously, to the most cursory inspection, very far from what would now be called even a tolerably-printed book. There is probably not a page in it which is not disfigured by many minute inaccuracies and irregularities, such as never appear in modern printing. The punctuation is throughout rude and negligent, even where it is not palpably blundering. The most elementary proprieties of the metrical arrangement are violated in innumerable passages. In some places the verse is printed as plain prose; elsewhere prose is ignorantly and ludicrously exhibited in the guise of verse. Indisputable and undisputed errors are of frequent occurrence, so gross that it is impossible they could have been passed over, at any rate in such numbers, if the proof-sheets had undergone any systematic revision by a qualified person, however rapid. They were probably read in the printing-office, with more or less attention, when there was time, and often, when there was any hurry or pressure, sent to press with little or no examination. Everything betokens that editor or editing of the volume, in any proper or distinctive sense, there could have been none. The only editor was manifestly the head workman in the printing-office."*

Craik goes on to state some of the evidences which a "closer

* The irregular *paging* of the Folio, which Donnelly believes to be an important feature in Bacon's cipher work, is merely another illustration of the lack of proper proof-reading. If it is a little worse than we find in the average book of the time, this is partly due to the separate paging of the three divisions; partly, as we have reason to believe, to beginning work on one play in some cases before the preceding play was all in type; and partly to doubts on the part of the editor or the head workman whether certain plays belonged in one division or another. "Troilus and Cressida," of which only the first two pages are numbered, was at first regarded as a *tragedy* and pretty certainly meant to be put after "Romeo and Juliet" (see my edition of the play, p. 11), but it was afterwards transferred to its present position between the "Histories" and the "Tragedies." The page-numbers were taken out, except the first two (and in the headline of these pages the play is still called a "Tragedie"), and there the work of correction was dropped.



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inspection" reveals that the volume not only had no proper editing, but was put in type from imperfect "copy" obtained from the theatre. There are errors which cannot "be sufficiently accounted for as the natural mistakes of the compositor," and which "can only be explained on the supposition that he had been left to depend upon a manuscript which was imperfect, or which could not be read." It is a significant fact that "deformities of this kind are apt to be found accumulated at one place; there are, as it were, nests or eruptions of them; they run into constellations; showing that the manuscript had there got torn or soiled, or that the printer had been obliged to supply what was wanting in the best way he could, by his own invention or conjectural ingenuity." *

But the case of the Folio is in some respects even worse than Craik makes it out. He says, for example, that "in one instance at least we have actually the names of the actors by whom the play was performed prefixed to their portions of the dialogue, instead of those of the *dramatis personæ*"; and that this "shows very clearly the text of the play in which it occurs ('Much Ado about Nothing') to have been taken from the playhouse copy, or what is called the prompter's book." In this play, a stage direction in act II., scene 3, reads thus in the Folio: "*Enter Prince, Leonato, Claudio, and Iacke Wilson.*" Jack Wilson was evidently the singer who took the part of *Balthasar*. Again, in act IV., scene 2, we find "*Kemp*" nine times and "*Kem.*" three times prefixed to *Dogberry's* speeches, and "*Cowley*" twice and "*Couley*" once to the speeches of *Verges*. William Kemp and Richard Cowley are known to have been actors of the time in London.

There are other instances of the kind apparently not known to Craik. In "3 Henry VI," act I., scene 2, we find "*Enter Gabriel,*" instead of "*Enter Messenger,*" and "*Gabriel*" is the prefix to the speech that follows. Again, in act III., scene 1, of the same play, we read "*Enter Sinklo and Humfrey, with Crossebowes in their hands,*" where the modern editions have "*Enter two Keepers,*" etc.; and in the dialogue following we have

* In an article on "The Text of Shakespeare," in "*The North British Review* for February, 1854, Craik has shown that the number of readings in the Folio which "must be admitted to be clearly wrong, or in the highest degree suspicious, probably amounts to not less than twenty on a page, or about twenty thousand in the whole volume."

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"*Sink.*" five times, "*Sinklo*" twice, and "*Sin.*" once for the *1st Keeper*, and "*Hum.*" eight times for the *2d Keeper*. The same Sinklo appears also in "The Taming of the Shrew," scene 1 of induction, "*Sincklo*" being the prefix to the speech of one of the players ("I think 'twas Soto," etc.). The 1600 Quarto of "2 Henry IV." has also, in act V., scene 4, "*Enter Sincklo and three or foure officers.*" He was evidently an actor of subordinate parts, and nothing else is known of him except that he played in "The Seven Deadly Sins" and in "The Malcontent" in 1604. In the "Midsummer-Night's Dream," act V., scene 1, the Folio has "*Tawyer with a Trumpet before them*" where the actors in the clowns' interlude first enter. Collier, Grant White, Dyce, and others believe *Tawyer* to be the name of the actor who filled the part of "presenter" and introduced the characters of the play.

There is another class of irregularities in the Folio which I do not remember to have seen classified, though the separate facts are referred to by many editors. "The Tempest," the first play in the volume, is divided throughout into acts and scenes. We have "*Actus primus, Scena prima*," "*Scena Secunda*," "*Actus Secundus. Scœna Prima*," and so on to the end. The next three plays, "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and "Measure for Measure," are similarly divided. Then come five plays divided only into *acts*, though the first heading in two of them is "*Actus primus, Scena prima*"—"The Comedy of Errors," "Much Ado," "Love's Labour's Lost," "A Midsummer-Night's Dream," and "The Merchant of Venice." "As You Like It," which follows, has acts and scenes. In "The Taming of the Shrew" the induction is not marked, the play beginning with "*Actus primus. Scœna Prima.*" The next heading is "*Actus Tertia*" [*sic*] in the proper place; and further on we find "*Actus Quartus. Scena Prima*," and "*Actus Quintus.*" "All's Well" is divided only into acts; "The Winter's Tale" into acts and scenes. The "Histories" are all divided in full, except "Henry V." (acts), "1 Henry VI." (decidedly "mixed"), "2 Henry VI." and "3 Henry VI." (not divided at all). In "1 Henry VI.," acts I. and II. are not divided into scenes; act III. is rightly divided; "*Actus Quartus. Scena prima.*" covers the first *four* scenes of act IV.; "*Scena secunda*" corresponds to scene 1 of act V.; "*Scœna Tertia*" includes scenes 2, 3, and 4;

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and only the fifth scene is put under the heading "*Actus Quintus.*"

Of the "Tragedies," "Coriolanus," "Titus Andronicus," and "Julius Cæsar" are divided only into acts; "Macbeth," "Lear," "Othello," and "Cymbeline," into acts and scenes; "Troilus and Cressida," "Romeo and Juliet," "Timon of Athens," and "Antony and Cleopatra," into neither. In "Hamlet," three scenes of act I. and two of act II. are marked, the remainder of the play having no division whatever.

The only plays in the Folio which have lists of *dramatis personæ* (in every instance at the *end*) are "The Tempest," "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Measure for Measure," "The Winter's Tale," "2 Henry IV.," "Timon of Athens," and "Othello." In "2 Henry IV." and "Timon" a full page, with ornamental headpiece and tailpiece, is given to this list of "The Actors Names." The omission in the twenty-nine other plays cannot be due to want of space, as an examination of the book will show. In several instances an entire page is left blank at the end of a play.

The wretched editing—or want of editing—in the Folio is also shown in the retention of matter for which the author had substituted a revised version. We can easily see how this might result from the use of old stage manuscripts for "copy" in the printing-office. The revised passages were inserted in the manuscript, but the original form was allowed to remain. It may have been retained for the benefit of an actor who had already learned it, the later and longer version being the one which a new actor would learn. The two may have been distinguished by arbitrary marks in the margin, intelligible to the actors, but liable to be overlooked or misinterpreted by the compositor.

A notable example of such duplication of matter occurs in "Love's Labour's Lost," act IV., scene 3. In some modern editions the earlier version is omitted; in others (as in mine) it is enclosed in brackets. I will quote here only one of the bracketed passages, with the revised counterpart:

> "For when would you, my lord,—or you,—or you,—
> Have found the ground of study's excellence
> Without the beauty of a woman's face?
> From women's eyes this doctrine I derive:
> They are the ground, the books, the academes,
> From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire."

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Further on in the same speech we read :

> "For when would you, my liege,—or you,—or you,—
> In leaden contemplation have found out
> Such fiery numbers as the prompting eyes
> Of beauty's tutors have enriched you with?
> . . . . . .
> From women's eyes this doctrine I derive :
> They sparkle still the right Promethean fire;
> They are the books, the arts, the academes,
> That show, contain, and nourish all the world,
> Else none at all in aught proves excellent."

In this instance the blunder of the compositor was committed in "setting up" the Quarto of 1598, which, as the repetition of sundry typographical errors proves, was used as "copy" for the Folio. The title-page of the Quarto—evidently a pirated edition—describes the play as "newly corrected and augmented," and there are many indications of revision besides the one I have cited.

Again, in the last scene of "Timon of Athens," the epitaph of the misanthrope reads thus (except in spelling) in the Folio :

> "Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft;
> Seek not my name. A plague consume you wicked caitiffs left!
> Here lie I, Timon, who, alive, all living men did hate;
> Pass by and curse thy fill, but pass and stay not here thy gait."

We have here the *two* epitaphs given in North's "Plutarch" as follows :

> "Now it chanced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tomb round about, that no man could come to it; and upon the same was written this epitaph :
>
> "'Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft :
> Seek not my name : a plague consume you wicked wretches left.'
>
> It is reported that Timon himself when he lived made this epitaph; for that which is commonly rehearsed was not his, but made by the poet Callimachus :
>
> "'Here lie I, Timon, who alive all living men did hate :
> Pass by and curse thy fill; but pass, and stay not here thy gait.'"

Shakespeare (or Bacon) cannot have meant to use both epitaphs. He seems to have written both in the manuscript while hesitating between them, and afterwards to have neglected to strike one out.

The printing of words and phrases from foreign languages in the Folio indicates wretched editing or proof-reading, or both.

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Latin is given with tolerable accuracy, though we meet with *cruces* like that in "Love's Labour's Lost," act I., scene 1, where *Holofernes* is represented as saying: "*Bome boon for boon prescian*, a little scratcht, 'twil serue." This is in reply to *Nathaniel's* "*Laus deo, bene intelligo*," which Theobald conjectures to be misprinted for "*Laus deo, bone, intelligo*"; with the response: "*Bone!—bone* for *bene!* Priscian a little scratched; 'twill serve"; that is, *Holofernes* takes *Nathaniel's bone* (which *he* means to be the vocative of the adjective) as a slip for *bene*, the adverb—which is natural enough, *bene intelligo* being a common phrase. Some editors, however, retain the *bene intelligo* in the preceding speech, and put the reply of *Holofernes* into *French*, thus: "*Bon, bon, fort bon*, Priscian!" etc. But the pedant does not elsewhere use French, and Latin would be more natural here.

French, Spanish, and Italian are almost invariably misprinted in the Folio, sometimes ridiculously so. In the "Merry Wives," for instance (act I., scene 4), "*un boitier vert*" appears as "*un-boyteene vert*"; and "*Ma foi, il fait fort chaud: je m'en vais à la cour—la grande affaire*" (Rowe's emendation), as "*mai foy, il fait fort chando, Je man voi a le Court la grand affaires*"; and "*un garçon*" (act V., scene 5) as "*oon garsoon.*" In "Henry V.," act IV., scene 5, "*O Seigneur! le jour est perdu, tout est perdu!*" is perverted into "*O sigueur le iour et perdia, toute et perdie.*" The Italian *capocchia* of "Troilus and Cressida," act IV., scene 2, becomes *chipochia*; "*mercatante*," in the "Shrew," act IV., scene 2, "*marcantant*"; and in "Love's Labour's Lost," act IV., scene 2, "*Venetia, Venetia, chi non ti vede non ti pretia*" (as it appears in Howell's "Letters" and in some modern editions, though others give it somewhat differently) is rendered "*vemchie, vencha, que non te vnde, que non te perreche*," which exactly follows the Quarto of 1598, showing that neither the Folio printer nor the editor or proof-reader made any attempt to correct the fearful distortion of the Venetian proverb in the earlier edition used as "copy." Whether the "*Fortuna delarguar*" of the same play (act V., scene 2) is corrupt Spanish for *fortuna de la guerra*, or *del agua*, or *de la guarda*, the editors cannot decide; but it is probably the first, though it does not exactly suit the context.

It would take more than the entire space at my command to illustrate, even in this brief way, all the faults and defects of the

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Folio, regarded solely from the printer's or proof-reader's point of view; but are not the facts already given enough, and more than enough, to settle the question whether the book is Bacon's?

Donnelly dwells much on "the extraordinary and phenomenal industry" of the man as shown in the elaboration of "the twenty volumes of his acknowledged writings." He tells us twice (pp. 286, 467) that Bacon "rewrote his essays *thirty times*," and "twelve times transcribed the 'Novum Organum' with his own hand." He might have added that the works which Bacon himself saw through the press are carefully printed. The reader can refer for illustration of this to Mr. W. Aldis Wright's accurate reprint of the 1625 edition of the "Essays," published by Macmillan. Few books printed nowadays are freer from errors of the type.

But, as Donnelly tells us, Bacon believed that his plays "would yield more lustre and reputation to his name" than his essays or his philosophical works, and he therefore took "the utmost pains" to publish these plays before his death. Can the Folio of 1623 be the fruit of the utmost pains of this phenomenally laborious scholar in a final edition of his greatest works? Would the man who rewrote the essays thirty times be compelled to go to the theatre for manuscripts of the plays to be used as "copy" by the printer? Would he read the proofs without detecting the repeated use of actors' names instead of those of the *dramatis personæ*? Could he overlook all the other imperfections and incongruities in the Folio which I have pointed out? In a carefully-revised edition could he fail to see and correct repetitions like those in "Love's Labour's Lost" and "Timon"?

If we assume the existence of a "cipher" in the Folio, such as Donnelly assures us that he finds, the absurdity of supposing the volume to be Bacon's becomes infinitely more preposterous. The insertion of this cipher, we are told, required the nicest care in the adjustment of every word in the original manuscript, and the minutest scrutiny of the proof-sheets as each page was printed. Every word had to be counted again and again; every instance of italics, brackets, and hyphens had to be noted in this repeated computation. Donnelly assumes that this was a task of almost inconceivable difficulty; and anybody at all acquainted with book-making can see that the cryptogramist must have re-

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quired proof after proof in order to perfect this work within the work. Is it credible or supposable that Bacon could have thus painfully elaborated the narrative concealed in the text, and yet have left the text itself in the wretched condition in which we find it? Certain typographical errors are alleged to be due to the exigencies of the cipher narrative; but Donnelly will not pretend that more than an insignificant fraction of them can be explained in this way.

I have said that the merely typographical or mechanical imperfections of the Folio suffice to prove that the book is none of Bacon's. I have not referred, and shall now refer only in the briefest manner, to a wholly different class of facts that lead inevitably to the same conclusion. If the Folio were as well printed as any of Bacon's acknowledged works,—the "Essays" of 1625, for example,—there would still be internal evidence, abundant and decisive, that the volume cannot be the author's final revision of his dramatic productions. Certain of the plays are manifestly nothing more than a slight remodelling of earlier work by other hands. Others are apparently pieces left unfinished, and completed by another playwright—in some instances by one so inferior that the author cannot be supposed to have been a party to the transaction. If it be said that all the matter is from one and the same hand, this is not absolutely inconceivable if the collecting and publishing of the works have been done by an incompetent or unscrupulous editor after the author's death; but how can we explain it if the author himself is editor? Why, to refer to a single play, should "Timon of Athens" be left in the state in which the Folio gives it—pure gold with a large admixture of the basest alloy, stuff utterly unworthy the 'prentice days of the dramatist? Scarcely a critic of the present century has been willing to regard the play as the work of a single hand. Portions of it are written in the merest burlesque of verse—as if the author had no ear, unless an asinine one—and the thought and sentiment are in keeping with the versification; while other portions bear the marks of the poet's maturest period. According to the Baconians, this was one of the latest plays, if not the latest play, their philosopher wrote; and *Timon* is meant to represent himself, deserted by his parasite friends after his fall. Could Bacon have written it as we have it, or, if any inferior writer had a share in it, would Bacon have printed it all as his

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own? These and similar questions have never been put to the Baconians, so far as I am aware, and I respectfully submit them to Mr. Donnelly's consideration.

On the other hand, let me ask the candid and unprejudiced reader whether these facts, and all the others concerning the Folio which I have mentioned, are not readily explicable on the theory that the volume contains the dramatic works of the dead Shakespeare, collected and edited by two of his fellow-actors, who were neither scholars nor critics, but did their share of the work to the best of their small ability.

If Bacon did not edit the Folio, he could not have inserted a cipher in it; but it may be well to examine the so-called cipher which Donnelly imagines he has discovered in the volume, and which he has described and illustrated in "The Great Cryptogram." His article in the last number of THE REVIEW is merely an additional chapter of this book, giving a fragment of a new "cipher story," which he has worked out by the methods employed in developing similar stories partially reported in the book. He has continued his cryptogramic study of the plays, he tells us, and the result is

**"the astonishing discovery that every page of the play of 'First Part of Henry Fourth' on which a scene begins—and presumably every other similar page throughout the whole of the First Folio—produces a continuous cipher story, elaborated by a root-number which is obtained by multiplying the number of the page by the number of italic words on the first column of the page. In other words, that the cipher narrative given in 'The Great Cryptogram,' growing out of page 76 (of '2d Henry IV.'), multiplied by the number of bracketed words on column 74 (on which the scene begins), is but one of a series of cipher stories, woven through the text of these extraordinary works."**

This proposition may, as Donnelly adds, "appear incredible on its face"; but we shall see, when we find out how the "cipher stories" are got, that the series might easily be extended indefinitely.

The "cipher" is no cipher at all, but an arbitrarily and almost infinitely variable method of counting the words of the text, by which any narrative whatever can be read into any printed matter whatever containing the *words* needed, however scattered, or any other words that can be combined or perverted into a punning resemblance to those needed. Let us look into Donnelly's own account of its discovery and application.

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He suspected its existence more than a dozen years ago, and began to hunt for it in the winter of 1878–79, but it was five or six years before he got the clew. He began, as he tells us (p. 516 of his book) by looking for some such brief statement as "I, Francis Bacon, of St. Albans, son of Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, wrote these plays which go by the name of William Shakespeare." Then he looked in the plays for such words as "*Francis, Bacon, Nicholas, Bacon,* and such combinations as *Shake* and *speare,* or *Shakes* and *pear,* as would make the name *Shakespeare.*" He found them, of course, and then began to trace out numerical relations among them; but it was not until he got hold of the Folio of 1623 that he discovered "the root-numbers out of which the story grows"—namely, 505, 506, 513, 516, and 523—and the "forty or fifty starting-points" from which to count in finding the significant words. In his book (p. 583) he said that the root-numbers were "the product of multiplying certain figures in the first column of page 74 by certain other figures," which "multipliers" were said to be 10, 7, 11, and 18. It was objected that only one of the root-numbers could be the "product" of any of these multipliers; and Donnelly then gave, in a newspaper article, a wholly different account of the process by which the root-numbers were obtained. The "multipliers" were now said to be 12, 10, and 11, and one of the multiplicands the page-number 76. The product of 11 and 76 is 836, and from *this* he gets his five root-numbers by first subtracting 29, one of certain numbers he calls "modifiers," and then subtracting from the remainder, 807, the numbers 294, 291, 301, and 284, which represent the number of words in the first column of page 74, counted in various ways—with or without bracketed and hyphenated words, etc.

However the root-numbers may be obtained, it is evident that, with the many starting-points, the freedom in the use of "modifiers," the counting up or down, and the like, any word in the Folio text can be forced into its place in the narrative supposed to be concealed there. It would take too much space to show how arbitrary are the methods by which the successive words are figured out; but the peculiar "hop-skip" movement may be illustrated by the way in which Sir Thomas Lucy's name is deciphered on page 777. The *Sir* is the 217th word in the first

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column of page 77 of the text, or 77, 1, concisely expressed. *Thomas* is ingeniously made up of *to*, the 49th word in 76, 1, and *amiss*, the 189th in 76, 2. *Lucy* is a combination of *loose*, the 77th word in 74, 2, and *see*, the 384th in 75, 1. No two of the words are obtained by similar counting; and Donnelly's own explanations and comments make it clear that the variations are not according to any fixed rule. The numbers of the words are all got, he says, from 305 by subtracting "modifiers." For the 217 of *Sir*, 31, 50, and 7 (the number of bracketed words in the column) are subtracted; but no reason is given, or can be given, for selecting 77, 1, as the column in which the 217th word is taken. For the 49 of *to*, 31, 50, 30, and 145 are successively subtracted, and the 76, 1, column is arbitrarily chosen as the one from which to take the 49th word. For the 189 required to get *amiss* in 76, 2, the 305 is successively diminished by 31, 30, 5 (bracketed words), and 50. For the 77 of *loose*, we subtract 31, 50, and 50 from 305, then subtract the remainder, 174, from 248 (the whole number of words in 74, 2), leaving 74, to which 1 and 2 (hyphenated words in the column) are *added*. For *see*, it is necessary to subtract 31, 50, and 30 from 305, leaving 194; then to double this 194, and subtract 4 (hyphenated words) from the product. This done, 75, 1, is selected as the column in which the 384th word is taken. Five radically different arithmetical processes, each evidently independent of the others, are thus used to get the numbers for the syllables of *Sir Thomas Lucy* in the distorted form of the name, and the counting is done in five different columns of four different pages. Nothing can be clearer than that the cryptogramist first assumed or suspected that the name of Sir Thomas was somewhere concealed in this portion of the text; that he then hunted up his *Sir* and *to-amiss* and *loose-see*, and manipulated his figuring to fit their positions in the columns where they occur.

The cipher narrative abounds in superfluities, not only of words and phrases, but of paragraphs and, indeed, entire chapters. Donnelly tells us (p. 239), that it "probably gives us the whole history of the reign of Elizabeth." It also gives us a most minute biography of Shakespeare from his youth up (and of his wife as well), with all the particulars of his connection with the plays, including the Queen's attempt to apprehend him on account of political matter in them which offended her, and

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Bacon's fear that Shakespeare would reveal their true authorship, his sending Harry Percy to urge Shakespeare to run away, etc., etc. The words of the text are used over and over again in relating all this, and the infinite labor involved in the undertaking is not ignored. Donnelly says (p. 574) that the play of "2 Henry IV." is "a most carefully-constructed piece of mosaic work, most cunningly dovetailed together, with marvellous precision and microscopic accuracy; there is not one cipher, but many ciphers in it; it is a miracle of industry and ingenuity." Again he says (p. 865): "In short, every act, scene, fragment of scene, column, word, bracket, and hyphen, in all the pages of these two plays [the two parts of 'Henry IV.'], and, as I believe, of all the plays, has been the subject of the most patient, painstaking prevision and arithmetical calculation and adjustment, to a degree that is almost inconceivable."

It is not almost but altogether inconceivable. Mr. W. H. Wyman, an expert in the typographic art, has shown (in the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* for June 4, 1886) that Bacon's preparation of his manuscript, as imagined by Donnelly (pp. 560–562 and elsewhere), is "a simple impossibility"; and that the putting it in type, so as to make the printed page correspond in its cryptographic details to the written page, is another impossibility. "If not a mechanical impossibility, it is so practically, if not absolutely, and no one who attempted it would have the courage or the patience to carry it beyond the first page on which he tried the experiment."

Donnelly, however, would have us believe that Bacon not only attempted this insertion of a multiplicity of intertangled "cipher stories" in the Folio, but wantonly augmented and complicated the task by including in these stories many irrelevant and insignificant details, and wasting words recklessly in these as in all other parts of the "concealed matter." This is illustrated even in the "Francis Bacon, Sir Nicholas Bacon's Son." Was it necessary to state that he was the son of Sir Nicholas? Would Donnelly have thought of making Bacon state it if he had not chanced to light on that *Nicholas* while hunting for the cipher? But this is trivial in comparison with the poor stuff spun out elsewhere in the narrative; as, for instance, in Harry Percy's account of his visit to Shakespeare at Stratford. Shakespeare told his wife to get some supper for

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Bacon's messenger; and "then follows," says Donnelly (p. 874), "with great detail, a description of the supper, served by the handsome Susannah; and every article of food is given, much of it coarse and in poor condition; and Percy is vehement in his description and denunciation of the very poor quality of the wine, which was far inferior to the kind that was served at his spendthrift master's table." And that spendthrift master, no less prodigal of misdirected labor, wasted many weary hours in working these petty details into the Folio text for the entertainment of posterity! Elsewhere (p. 807)) our philosopher digresses into a lengthy account of the introduction of the "French disease" into England—suggested by Shakespeare's having the disease; "and," says Donnelly, "the fact that Bacon could stop in the midst of his cipher narrative to give these details as to a most shameful but most destructive disorder, is characteristic of the man who, in his prose history of Henry VII., paused to describe the great plague which decimated London in that reign." It is also characteristic that "he goes on to tell the mode of treatment for the shameful disease in question"!

The waste of words—these carefully-counted and ingeniously-adjusted words—is yet more remarkable where they do not even serve to give us these petty or useless details, but are the merest verbiage. On page 738, for instance, we read: "He drew his pistol, and shot him, and, *as ill luck would have it*, the ball hit him on the forehead *between the eyes*"; and the superfluous italicized words are scattered through pages 71, 74, and 75 of the Folio. It would have saved Bacon much figuring and fussing over these pages if he had simply written, "drew his pistol and shot him in the forehead." That tautological cryptographer, in describing Shakespeare's encounter with Sir Thomas Lucy's gamekeepers,—a needless episode in the narrative,—can afford to write a sentence like this (p. 742): "He hath beaten one of the keepers *o'er the head, sides, and back* with *the blunt edge of* his stick till it breaks, or he fell *down to the earth under the heavy weight of his blows*"! It takes an octavo page full of figures to show how Donnelly dug the useless words out of four pages of the Folio; and Bacon had to perform all that calculation and much labor besides in hiding them there. He could actually write like this (p. 753): "After quenching the fire, *the flames of which even yet burned*"!

I fear, however, that we must give Donnelly, and not Bacon,

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the credit of originating this extraordinary narrative. He has read it into the Folio before ciphering it out again. It is written in *the English of the nineteenth century*, not the sixteenth. This has been shown again and again, though I believe that I may claim to have been the first to discover an unquestionable *Americanism* in the thing. Shakespeare, to revenge himself on Sir Thomas Lucy, as we are told, drains his fish-pond (p. 697) "and *girdles* his orchard." It is unnecessary to inform the reader that this use of *girdle* originated in this country long after Bacon was in his grave, and that it would be unintelligible to most Englishmen to-day.

The only reply that Donnelly has been able to make to this and similar criticisms is to say that "the *words* are all in the Folio." Verily they are; and in "Troilus and Cressida" (act II., scene 3) there is reference to "an engine not portable"; and in "2 Henry IV." (act IV., scene 1) "rocky mountains" are mentioned. This, however, will hardly justify Donnelly in making Bacon allude, in some future chapter of the cipher narrative, to a "portable engine" in the familiar modern acceptation of the term, or to the "Rocky Mountains" of our American continent.

Donnelly's ignorance of Elizabethan English is amazing. In his much counting of the Folio words he has failed to learn their meaning and use. He tells us that Bacon was sometimes hard-pressed by the exigencies of the cipher, and actually wrote nonsense on a pinch in order to get the right word, cryptographically speaking, in the right place. On page 536, "I *con* him no thanks for it," and "Yes, thanks, I must you *con*," are quoted in illustration of this. The expression, he says, "is sheer nonsense." It was, nevertheless, common in Shakespeare's time, and Steevens and other commentators cite many examples of it from contemporaneous writers. In "2 Henry IV." (act II., scene 1) *Falstaff* says, referring to *Dame Quickly*, "Throw the quean into the *channel*"; and Donnelly—who, by the by, says that the *Quickly* "threatened to throw the corpulent *Sir John* into the channel"!—thinks that *channel* is here a word without proper meaning, introduced by Bacon because he has occasion to refer to the English Channel! For *channel=kennel*, or gutter, with sundry old and well-known compounds and derivatives from it, Donnelly may be referred to any good English dictionary. On page 872 he quotes one of the thirty or more passages in which

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Shakespeare uses *owe* in the sense of *own*. He has found a mare's-nest; "the text is twisted to get in the word." Bacon needed it for the cipher, and got it "by mispelling a word in the text." Here, too, the dictionary may be commended to our cryptogramist, who will learn from it that the original meaning of *owe* was "have, possess." He will find the word with this sense in the English Bible (edition of 1611), Leviticus, xiv., 35, and Acts, xxi., 11; but Donnelly may yet prove that Bacon wrote King James's version, and put a cipher in it, just as he wrote Shakespeare's plays, and Marlowe's, and Montaigne's essays (that is, Florio's pretended translation, which Bacon got the Perigourdin gentleman to translate into French and claim as his own), and Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy."

I may remark here that Donnelly's chapter on "Other Masks of Francis Bacon" (pp. 939–974) is indirectly fatal to the cipher theory, though he does not see it. We are told here that Bacon wrote not only all the dramatic and other works just mentioned, but all the so-called "doubtful plays" (at one time and another ascribed to Shakespeare), fifteen in number,—"Arden of Feversham," "Locrine," etc.,—and probably also the plays supposed to be written by Marston, Massinger, Middleton, Greene, Shirley, and Webster. Both Donnelly and Mrs. Pott recognize "Baconianisms of thought and expression" in all these plays. That the Montaigne "Essays" and the "Anatomy of Melancholy" are Bacon's is proved by many cryptic allusions to them in the Folio, by similar allusions to *Shakespeare* and *Verulam* and *St. Albans* in the books themselves, and by the "parallelisms" of style, to which a dozen or more pages are devoted in this chapter of "The Great Cryptogram."

In other words, we have just the same grounds for believing that Bacon wrote all these books ascribed to Marlowe, Montaigne, Burton, and the rest, that we have for believing that he wrote Shakespeare's plays and poems! Here I can heartily agree with Donnelly. If Bacon wrote any one of these things, he unquestionably wrote them all—and any other Elizabethan literature that Donnelly or anybody else will take the trouble to analyze and "decipher" after the same fashion.

It is proper to say, in conclusion, that I cannot agree with those who doubt Donnelly's sincerity. I believe him to be thoroughly honest, though amazingly deluded.

W. J. Rolfe.

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# HOW SHALL WE MAN OUR SHIPS?

BY REAR ADMIRAL S. B. LUCE, UNITED STATES NAVY.

THE question of manning the navy forced itself upon the attention of the British government some thirty years ago. A brief reference to the creditable manner in which it was disposed of then and there may aid us in answering the same question to-day in reference to our own navy.

The subject took a practical form when, in 1859, Her Majesty the Queen, in compliance with an "humble address" presented by Parliament, appointed as commissioners her "trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles Philip, Earl of Hardwicke," together with certain members of Parliament, admirals, and ship-owners, "to inquire into the best means of manning the navy." In 1852 the First Lord of the Admiralty had appointed a board for the same purpose. But as the recommendations of the board were fully sustained by the royal commission, the two reports may be considered for the present as one and the same.

Prior to 1853 the practice in England, during peace, was to enter volunteers for particular ships, nominally for five years; practically during the ship's commission, averaging from three to four years. Under this system it was found that, owing to a growing dislike on the part of the seamen for the royal navy, ships were sometimes from four to six months in getting their crews after being put in commission; and during the Crimean War, when neither the temper—or say, rather, the enlightenment—of the English people nor the exigencies of the case rendered impressment advisable, it was the exception to find an English man-of-war with a full complement of seamen.

The commission declared that the system of volunteer enlistment was attended with great inconvenience to the public service, and even to the seamen themselves. Men who had been trained with great trouble and expense, and had been brought to a state

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of the highest efficiency, were suddenly discharged at the expiration of a cruise, and, being unable to reënlist, often sought employment under a foreign flag; and thus, when required for the navy, were not to be obtained. This led not only to great delay in conducting the ordinary duties of the service, but was the source of serious embarrassment when political considerations rendered necessary the speedy equipment of a fleet.

The first point considered by the commission in mitigation of the serious and growing evil was the extension of what was called the *continuous-service system*, by which seamen were induced, for certain advantages, to engage themselves to serve continuously for a period of ten years. That system had already been in operation from five to six years, had been attended with very beneficial results, and had secured to the country a body of well-trained and efficient seamen. But it was chiefly to the naval-apprentice boys, the enlistment of whom had been going on for a few preceding years, that the commission looked for the gradual organization of a permanent navy. "Men," it was said, "who had been received into the navy as boys became from early habits and associations more attached and adhered more closely to the service than those entered at a more advanced age; and they eventually constituted, from their superior education and training, the most valuable part of the crews of Her Majesty's ships."

Attention was next called to the extreme importance of encouraging seamen to qualify as seamen-gunners. The commission recommended that the number under instruction on board the gunnery-ship "Excellent" and her tenders should be increased, as "they could not overrate the advantages which the naval service had derived from the systematic instruction and training in gunnery and the use of arms as established on board that ship." To induce seamen to enter the gunnery-ships "Excellent" and "Cambridge," and to qualify themselves for "the highly important situations of seamen-gunners," an increase of pay was recommended; and, with the view of retaining them when once qualified, it was proposed that a period of five-years' service as seamen-gunner should count as six years towards a long-service pension; and, further, that of the 4,000 men to be retained in the home ports, 1,000 should always be seamen-gunners. These measures were deemed sufficient to keep up the peace establishment.



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Certain recommendations followed, which, if properly carried out, would tend to make the service more popular.

The commission then proceeds to consider the mode of manning the fleet in an emergency, and the recommendations merit our serious consideration. The report concludes as follows :

"Your Majesty possesses in the merchant service elements of naval power such as no other government in the world enjoys. It is true that hitherto no sufficient organization has existed for securing the immediate command of these resources. During a long peace, reliance has been placed either on the improbability that danger would arise, or on the efficacy of impressment to furnish the means by which danger could be confronted and overcome. Changes in public sentiment and in the circumstances of the case have shaken that reliance. We rejoice to believe that by improvements in the administration of the navy, and in the regulation of the merchant service, other resources have in the mean time been placed within the reach of the government, and that it is now in their power to substitute for untrained, compulsory service, a system of defence, voluntary, effective, and calculated to draw closer to your Majesty, at the moment of danger, the loyal enthusiasm of those on whom your Majesty will rely. We therefore submit measures calculated to improve the position and elevate the character of the British seamen of both services."

The recommendations of the commission were adopted and put in force, and the number of school-ships for the navy and for the merchant service was increased ; so that now the English navy is manned exclusively by continuous-service men who have, as boys, passed through the training-ships. We refer, of course, to the blue-jacket class only. Boys are entered to serve for ten years from the age of eighteen. The benefits are such that many seamen, on reaching the age of twenty-eight, elect to reënter for an additional term of ten years. At thirty-eight they receive an increase of pension, and the majority enter the coast guard, which constitutes part of the naval reserve. England has now in commission about eighteen training- and drill ships, 39,133 seamen, and 4,514 boys, 1,950 of the latter being under training. Her merchant tonnage amounts to 7,351,888, and her merchant seamen number 223,673 ; a very respectable body in point of numbers to draw on in an emergency.

The question of manning the navy was very summarily disposed of in France many years ago. Under the law, every citizen between the ages of eighteen and sixty must serve for a certain specified time either in the army or the navy. The French navy is manned by the system known as the *inscription maritime*. The

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coasts of France are divided into five *arrondissements*, each one being presided over by a flag officer (admiral), commonly known as the *préfet maritime*. The subdivisions of the *arrondissements* are presided over by officers whose duty it is to keep carefully-revised lists of all the sailors in the district, as well as every man who follows the sea for a living, or even earns his daily bread by working in harbors, docks, upon canals, or in boats—every one, in short, who follows the craft of waterman. They are all obliged to serve in the navy. It was stated a few years ago that, as a result of this system, all the seamen of the French fleet taken from the maritime inscription had passed successively on board the ships of the national fleet; and that all had received a complete education both in seamanship and gunnery. In the course of nine years the entire body of the merchant seamen must pass through the navy. The French seamen available for war number from 150,000 to 180,000. The French maritime organization is admirable, but too systematic for this country.

How we shall man our ships is a question that has never, to our knowledge, been seriously asked in this country. We still continue to depend on short-term enlistments of the nomads of the sea—the system so severely reprobated by the royal commission of 1859 and abandoned by the English government thirty years ago. It is a no-system. Nothing worse could possibly be devised to secure the end in view.

We have, it is true, borrowed from the English certain terms, —words having a vague meaning,—but we have contented ourselves with mere shadows without the substance. Thus we have a *continuous-service certificate*, but the holder thereof does not bind himself for a long term of service, and we have a *seaman-gunner* who is not a gunner. The English seaman-gunners, so highly prized in that service, are blue-jackets trained on board gunnery-ships in the *use* of heavy guns and arms of precision. They are seamen who become expert gunners; hence the name. We educate them on shore, in machine-shops, as machinists, gunsmiths, and electricians, so that at the expiration of their short term of enlistment they can, and do, go into civil life, where they readily secure places giving them more pay per week than they can earn in the navy in a month. We cannot, at this moment, recall a more forcible illustration of over-education, or, rather, misdirected education.

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Of our naval-apprentice system it is enough to say that it has been permitted to exist. The naval training system as now organized was established in 1875. After fifteen years of vicissitude we find that under our peculiar methods it has failed to render adequate returns, and our national ships have to-day much the same polyglot crews as formerly. The crew of the "Trenton," for example, represented, during her last cruise, *twenty-seven different nationalities;* 33 per cent. only were native-born Americans; and out of a total of 450 souls there were not more than fifteen who had passed through the training service.

The training service has not, however, been wholly barren of good results. It has disclosed the fact that there are plenty of boys in this country who gladly enter the navy, and who, under judicious management, are willing to stay in it; and there is overwhelming testimony to the superior quality of the young seamen who have reëntered the navy after serving out an honorable apprenticeship. These two facts encourage us to believe that, under the recently-improved method of naval administration, the course of naval training is about to take a fresh departure. Boys, now indentured till twenty-one only, will probably, under an amended law, be enlisted for longer terms; "continuous service" will henceforth mean continuous service as it was originally understood, and the "Lancaster," which will probably be commissioned the coming spring as a gunnery-ship, will give us real seamen-gunners. A justly-graduated scale of pay is, of course, a *sine quâ non.*

Having reached that most important point—a clearly-defined idea of what we really want—and having devised means of supplying that want, it will then be in order to double the capacity of the training service. Congress should allow the navy 1,500 boys.

So much for the revival of the original plan, inaugurated in this country in 1837, of manning our ships of war during peace with young American seamen trained up for the special purpose. The experiment of 1837 failed, as did that of 1864. But there is every reason for believing that the ultimate success of the present undertaking is now assured, and that henceforth our ships of war will be manned by Americans only.

The subject of manning national ships comprises two separate and distinct parts—the supplying of trained seamen for a peace

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establishment, and the provision for a reserve, consisting of a large body of seafaring people, on which to levy in time of war. We have seen what has been done in this latter respect by the two great naval powers of the world.

Engaged in our foreign trade, coastwise traffic, and fisheries, it is estimated that there are about 285,000 seamen; but there is no way by which the government can reach them in an emergency, save by voluntary enlistment and bounty. In England the general superintendence of all matters relating to merchant shipping and merchant seamen comes under the Board of Trade, a bureau of which, the Registrar-General of Seamen, has to do with all matters indicated by its title. The president of the Board of Trade is a cabinet officer. Such an executive department is essential to the complete rehabilitation of our mercantile marine and the enumeration of our seamen. Through the Board of Trade the British government keeps "in touch" with the merchant seamen. We need a Board of Trade, or its equivalent.

As a prosperous merchant service is the foundation of naval power, the revival of our shipping interests means the more thorough rehabilitation of the navy. Hence the great importance to the navy of Senate bill No. 1,628, reported by Senator Frye and passed by the Senate during the first session of the Fifty-first Congress. The preamble of that bill lays down the sound principle that a mercantile marine of our own, "built, manned, and used by our own people, is a national requirement, essential to a fair participation in the trade of the world, indispensable to a wise industrial economy of state, and vital to the independence and defence of the Union." Let Congress, during the present session, pass that bill, and add to the executive government a Department of Commerce, and the value of our maritime defences will be increased a hundred-fold and the second part of our question be fully answered.

S. B. Luce.

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# VITAL STATISTICS OF THE JEWS.

BY JOHN S. BILLINGS, M. D., SURGEON, UNITED STATES ARMY.

IN THE following paper the terms "Jewish race" and "Jews" are used to designate the people ordinarily so called, considered as the descendants of those who returned to Palestine after the Babylonian captivity, but without reference to their religious beliefs or practices. The terms "Hebrews" and "Israelites," which are commonly used as synonymes for Jews, are not here employed, because they have a different historical signification.

There are now a little over 7,000,000 persons in the world who may properly be called "Jews," and of these about 500,000 are living in this country. More than one-third of these last have arrived as immigrants from foreign lands within the last ten years, over 120,000 having arrived at the port of New York alone during the five years 1885–89.

This rapid increase, considered in connection with certain peculiarities in the habits, occupations, and vitality of this people, gives rise to some interesting questions with regard to their probable future in this country, and the influence which they may have upon our commercial, political, and social development.

From time to time during the last fifty years there have been published certain data relating to the vital statistics of the Jews in various parts of Austria, Bohemia, France, the German Empire, and Italy, all tending to show that the marriage-, birth-, and death-rates of this race are lower than those of the people among whom they live, and that they have fewer still-born children, greater average longevity, and less liability to certain forms of disease than other races. Do these characteristics exist among Jews in the United States? Or have they been in any way modified among those who have been for a number of years subjected to the new conditions of life in this country?

With the approval of the Superintendent of the Eleventh Census, a special inquiry has been made into the vital statistics of a number of Jews who have been in this country for several years, in order to determine, if possible, their birth-, death-, and marriage-rates for purposes of comparison with those of other races.

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For this purpose a form of schedule was prepared, on which for each family could be recorded the name, sex, age, occupation, etc., of each member of the family living on the 31st day of December, 1889; also the name, sex, age, etc., of each member of that family who had been born, or had married, or had died during the five years ending December 31, 1889; and these schedules were sent to the heads of about 15,000 Hebrew families, according to lists furnished for that purpose by the presidents and rabbis of congregations. These lists included only the names of heads of families who had been in this country for five years or more. No attempt was made to obtain a complete census of the Jews; the effort being only to obtain the vital statistics of a sufficient number of persons of this race who had been so long in this country that any special influences here might be supposed to have at least commenced to act upon them, and to make use of the data thus obtained for purposes of comparison with the vital statistics of other races which might be obtained through the ordinary machinery of the census, and also with the vital statistics of the Jewish race in Europe as shown by foreign reports.

The data collected relate to 10,618 Jewish families, including 60,630 persons, living in the United States on December 31, 1889. Of these families, 4,411, including 25,186 persons, resided in the Eastern States and on the Atlantic coast; 4,071 families, including 23,226 persons, in the lake region and Mississippi valley; 1,433 families, including 8,218 persons, in the Southern States; and 703 families, including 4,000 persons in the Western States and on the Pacific slope. The data for each of these groups have been compiled separately in order to determine any differences due to climate, and also as a check upon the total figures; but the results have proved to be very uniform throughout, and therefore the totals only will, as a rule, be referred to in the following remarks. Eight thousand two hundred and sixty-three of these families had been fifteen years or more in this country.

It will be seen that these were all surviving families, as none of those which during the preceding five years had been broken up by the deaths of parents were included; and they were also above the average of the general Jewish population as to social position, health, and vitality. Their mortality statistics may therefore, be more fairly compared with those of life-insurance companies than with those of the general population.

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The social condition of these families is indicated by the fact that 3,996 of them, including 21,797 persons, or a little over one-third, kept no servants, while the remainder, 6,622 families, including 38,833 persons, kept one or more servants, and may, accordingly, be presumed to have been in easy circumstances. No very great differences, however, are found in the vital statistics of these two classes. The average number of persons in the families of the poorer class was 5.25, the average annual number of marriages per thousand of mean population was 7.60, the average number of births per thousand of women between fifteen and fifty years of age was 66.92, and the average number of deaths per thousand was 6.94; while in those families keeping one or more servants the average number of persons to a family was 5.59; average annual number of marriages per thousand of mean population, 7.29; average annual number of births per thousand of women between fifteen and fifty years of age, 76.33; and average annual number of deaths per thousand, 7.20.

The data relating to the living population collected by these schedules are no doubt, in most respects, as complete and accurate for the people for whom they were returned as any census data can be. The return for each family was filled out by its head as a voluntary matter, and after ample time for consideration, and there could have been no special motive in any case for making a false report, unless possibly with reference to feeble-minded, insane, or deaf-mute persons. Nor have we any reason to doubt the substantial accuracy and completeness of the records of births and marriages reported as having occurred during the five years under consideration; but as regards the deaths the data are more questionable, as will be shown hereafter.

Of the total number of persons living, 31,694 were males and 28,936 females, giving a proportion of 91.29 females to each 100 males, or 109.53 males to each 100 females; the proportion of males being larger than in the general population at the last United States census, which was 103.57 males to 100 females, or 96.54 females to 100 males, and much larger than in the States on the Atlantic coast north of Cape Charles, in which the proportion of females is greater than that of males. This comparatively large proportion of males among the Jews is probably due to the fact that the death-rate of their infants is less for males as compared with females than it is among the average population.

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As regards age-distribution, the proportion of children under five years of age is less than it is in the average white population in the proportion of 9 to 13, while from five to fifteen years of age it is greater in proportion of 29 to 23. The proportion of those between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five is also somewhat above the average, due to the influence of immigration.

Of the 60,630 persons, 19,890 were born abroad and 40,666 in the United States. Of the latter number, 36,772 had parents one or both of whom were foreign-born. Classifying them by the birthplace of the mothers indicates to some extent the countries from which they were derived. We find that of 12,754 the mothers were born in the United States, 1,235 in England and Wales, 659 in France, 33,549 in Germany, 6,355 in Russia and Poland, 1,465 in Hungary, 1,759 in Bohemia, and the remainder in other foreign countries. The great majority are undoubtedly of the Ashkenazim from northern Europe, and there are very few families among them of the Sephardim, or Spanish Jews.

The general distribution of the Jewish population as regards marital condition is shown by the following table, in which it is compared with the population of Massachusetts as shown by the census of 1885 :

| | Jews | | | Massachusetts | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Per cent. total population over 20 years. | Males. | Females. | Per cent. total population over 20 years. | Males. | Females. |
| Single | 29.43 | 34.56 | 23.47 | 28 81 | 29.93 | 27.825 |
| Married | 65.46 | 61.26 | 70.34 | 60.32 | 64.25 | 56.835 |
| Widowed | 4.93 | 3.99 | 6.03 | 10.61 | 5.62 | 15·042 |
| Divorced | 0.15 | 0.14 | 0.154 | 0.25 | 0.13 | 0.256 |
| Unknown | 0 03 | 0.05 | 0.006 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.002 |

It will be seen from these figures that among the Hebrews the proportion of married was somewhat greater than among the population of Massachusetts taken as a whole, but that as regards the males alone the proportion of married males among the total population over twenty years of age was greater in Massachusetts than among the Jews. The proportion of divorced persons was somewhat greater among the Jews than in Massachusetts, the difference being chiefly in the females.

Of the total male population above fifteen years of age, 18,031 were reported as having some definite occupation. Of these there were 285 lawyers, 173 physicians and surgeons, 388 teachers and literary men, 3,041 accountants, book-keepers, and clerks, 422 bankers, brokers, and officials of companies, 2,147 wholesale mer-

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chants and dealers, 1,797 commercial travellers, 5,977 retail dealers, 183 cigar-makers, 387 jewellers and watchmakers, 534 tailors, and 111 farmers, gardeners, etc.

Of the females, 1,358 above the age of fifteen were reported as having some definite occupation. Of these, 170 were teachers, 214 accountants and book-keepers, 109 milliners, 111 dressmakers, and 177 servants.

The proportion of male to female infants born in these Jewish families during the five years was slightly less than it was for the whole United States in 1880, being 103.16 males to each 100 females in the Jewish families, and 104.7 males to 100 females in the whole United States.

The figures for the births by successive years indicate that the birth-rate is tending to diminish, taking into consideration the fact that there was a somewhat smaller population to give rise to them in 1885, at the commencement of the period, than in 1889, at the close. Of the 6,038 births reported, 1,291 occurred in 1885, 1,219 in 1886, 1,205 in 1887, 1,134 in 1888, and 1,189 in 1889. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island, where the records are most complete, the birth-rates per thousand of population by the actual records in 1880 were 24 and 24.6 respectively. If we compute the ratios of births with reference to the number of women of the child-bearing age between fifteen and forty-nine, we find that the Jewish rate is also lower, having been for the average of the five-year period 72.87 annually; the corresponding rate in 1880 in Massachusetts being 82.9 and in Rhode Island 86. In those Jewish families in which no servant was kept the birth-rate is lower than it is among those in more easy circumstances, being 66.9 as against 76.3 per thousand of women between fifteen and fifty years of age. The birth-rate is higher in those families living in the Southern and Western States than it is among those living in the Eastern States and on the Atlantic coast, being per thousand of child-bearing women in the Southern and Western States, 85.9; in the Mississippi valley and lake region, 74.8; in the Eastern States and on the Atlantic coast, 65.2.

The average number of births reported for each month shows that among the Jews the proportion of births occurring in December and January is greater than it is for the other months. The following table shows the average proportion of births occurring in each month among the Jews and in Rhode Island and Massa-

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chusetts, reduced to a uniform scale of 12,000 births per year, the months being reduced to a uniform length :

| | | | Massachusetts. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Jews. | Rhode Island. 1887. | 1887. | 1888. | 1869-1888 Average. |
| January | 1.666.60 | 962.00 | 944.60 | 961.00 | 924.20 |
| February | 917.70 | 934.60 | 989.68 | 976.00 | 968 59 |
| March | 861.60 | 968.20 | 981.63 | 973.02 | 973.40 |
| April | 726 88 | 998.80 | 954.19 | 889.60 | 936.40 |
| May | 666.28 | 928.20 | 954.24 | 931.00 | 923 40 |
| June | 1,092.15 | 994.10 | 993.04 | 1,036.07 | 983.40 |
| July | 896.85 | 955.80 | 1,037.52 | 1,080.25 | 1,008.50 |
| August | 922.20 | 1,026.50 | 1,081.82 | 1,065 47 | 1,085.50 |
| September | 971.19 | 1,057.40 | 1,052.82 | 1,077.08 | 1,070.10 |
| October | 943.65 | 1,028.00 | 1,011.12 | 1,001.47 | 1,048.71 |
| November | 967,16 | 1,013.10 | 1,019.01 | 985.04 | 1,035.10 |
| December | 1,367.74 | 1,103.30 | 980.33 | 1,024.00 | 1,042.70 |
| | 12,000.00 | 12,000.00 | 12,000.00 | 12,000.00 | 12,000.00 |

The explanation of the large proportion of births among the Jews in December and January and in June, due to a corresponding preponderance of conceptions in April and in September, is that the Jewish holidays of the Passover and of the New Year occur in those periods, the average date of the Passover for the five years having been April 14 and of the New Year September 18. At these periods all members of the family are at home if it is possible for them to be so.

The greatest number of marriages among these Jews occurred in January and in October. The marriage-rate is very low—only 7.4 per 1,000 annually, while in Providence, in 1888, it was 21.9, and in Massachusetts the average from 1855 to 1888 was 18.9. The average age at marriage is greater among the Jews than it is among other people ; thus the proportion of males under twenty-five who married per 1,000 of all marrying was 136 among the Jews, 375 in Massachusetts in 1888, and 387 in Rhode Island in 1887, while the proportion of Jews between thirty and thirty-five marrying was 270, as against 134 in Massachusetts and 129 in Rhode Island.

The proportion of males marrying women older than themselves is less than half what it is among other people. The low marriage-rate and the increased average age at marriage are the main causes of the low birth-rate. The average number of children born to each mother was 4.66, the greatest proportion being 5.63 for Russian and Polish mothers, and the least, 3.56, among mothers born in the United States. The proportion to German mothers was 5.24, to Hungarian 5.27, to Bohemian 5.44. The fertility, therefore, seems to diminish with prolonged resi-

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dence in this country. Of the 10,085 mothers, six had borne sixteen children each, ten fifteen children each, thirty fourteen children each, and fifty-one thirteen children each. The great majority of these mothers having many children were born in Germany or Poland.

When we come to examine the reports of deaths for five years furnished by these Jewish families, we find that they give an average annual death-rate of only 7.1 per thousand, which would be about one-half of the annual death-rate among other persons of the same average social class and condition living in this country. If we take the deaths reported for each year we find that they are as follows: in 1889, 542; 1888, 442; 1887, 387; 1886, 359; 1885, 332; thus showing a progressive and rapid diminution as we go back in time from the date of making up the schedule. This indicates either that the death-rate among these people is decidedly increasing, or that for some reason a considerable proportion of the deaths which occurred several years before the schedule was made up have not been recorded. This omission of records due to lapse of time since the occurrence, and consequent forgetfulness, is a well-recognized source of error in the records of deaths. On the other hand, it is hardly conceivable that the head of a Jewish family, in which the anniversary of each death which has occurred in that family is carefully observed, should, in preparing at his leisure the list of deaths in his family during the preceding five years, forget a large proportion of those deaths which had occurred more than a year previous; and it is equally difficult to conceive of any motive which would induce him to omit the record if he did remember the fact.

In any case, however, the deficiency in the number of deaths reported for 1889 would not exceed 10 per cent., at which figure the gross annual death-rate for that year would be about 10 per 1,000. This is a low mortality, and fully corresponds with European experience; but to determine the relative vitality and longevity of different masses of people, we must compare their death-rates at different ages. The most convenient way of doing this is by the use of approximate life-tables, from which can be deduced the average expectation of life at each age. From a life table thus prepared from the data for 1889 we find the expectation of life of the Jewish male infant to be at birth 57.14 years, and of the female infant at birth 55 29 years.

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The following table shows for certain ages the expectation of life among the provident or insuring classes of this country, as obtained from the combined experience of thirty life-insurance companies for a series of years; also the expectation of life at the same ages for the Jews from whom data were obtained, as shown by the above-mentioned approximate life-table:

EXPECTATION OF LIFE.

| | AGES. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 10 | 25 | 40 | 50 | 60 |
| Thirty American offices, males | 49.99 | 39.49 | 28.48 | 21.24 | 14.56 |
| Jews, average of five years, males | 66.00 | 53.26 | 40.30 | 31.10 | 22.52 |
| Jews, 1889, males | 61.11 | 48.60 | 36.17 | 27.40 | 19.09 |
| Thirty American offices, females | 48.05 | 37.80 | 28.18 | 21.33 | 14.37 |
| Jews, average of five years, females | 59.84 | 46.65 | 34.31 | 26.30 | 18.45 |
| Jews, 1889, females | 56.02 | 42.68 | 31.98 | 24.88 | 17.58 |

It will be seen from this table that, if the deaths at different ages among the Jews have been correctly reported, the Jewish expectation of life is at each age markedly greater than that of the class of people who insure their lives; the average excess being a little over 20 per cent.

The death-rate among the so-called Russian Jews who have come to this country within the last five or six years, and the greater part of whom are living in New York city, is much greater than it is among the Jewish families referred to in this paper; but it cannot be definitely stated until the records of the Eleventh Census have been compiled. Probably it is over 27 per 1,000 annually.

The low death-rate among the Jews is especially marked among the children, and this corresponds to European experience. Thus in Prussia in 1887 the death-rate of the Jews under fifteen years of age was 5.63 per 1,000, while among the remainder of the people it was 10.46 per 1,000. This is in part due to the fact that illegitimate children, whose mortality is always very high, are of comparatively rare occurrence among the Jews, but the death-rate of those that do occur among them is, if anything, higher than it is of the illegitimate of other races.

The variation in death-rates according to the birthplace of the mother presents some points of interest. The general annual

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death-rate for males being 6.5, it was for males whose mothers were born in the United States 8.1; for those whose mothers were born in Germany, 6.1; and for those whose mothers were born in Russia and Poland, 5 per 1,000. Here, again, the age-groupings must be considered. Between the ages of twenty and forty the corresponding death-rates are: United States, 1.7; Germany, 3; Russia and Poland, 1.5. Under five years the rates are: United States, 24.4: Germany, 37.2; Russia and Poland, 27.8. The death-rates are therefore greater for males whose mothers were born in Germany than they are for males whose mothers were born in the United States or in Russia, during infancy and adult life; but after fifty years of age they are lower for the German Jews than for the others.

The proportion of persons among the Jews who were suffering from acute or chronic disease on the 31st of December, 1889, was somewhat greater than that found in the general population of the United States as shown by the census of 1880, or among the inhabitants of Massachusetts as shown by the census of 1885.

The proportion of the so-called defective classes, including the insane, idiotic, blind, deaf-mute, deformed, maimed, and crippled reported is much less among the Jews than it is among the average population of the United States. This is contrary to European experience, which shows that the proportion of these defective classes is invariably greater among the Jews than it is among other races, and gives ground for the suspicion that all the cases have not been reported on the Jewish schedules.

It is very evident from the data collected that these Jews were much less affected with tubercular disease, and especially with tubercular consumption, than the average population. The total number of deaths reported from this cause was only 68, or 36.5 per 1,000 of all deaths in males, and 34 per 1,000 of all deaths in females. For the whole United States the number per 1,000 of all deaths which were reported as due to consumption was in 1880 for males 108.8; females, 146.1; while for the same period for the cities on the Atlantic coast, including New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc., it was for males 136.8 and for females 148. In other words, the proportion of deaths among Jews was less than one-third for males, and less than one-fourth for females, of what it was among our average population. If the ratios were calculated with regard to the living population,

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the difference in favor of the Jews as regards immunity from this disease would be still greater.

From scrofula, tabes-mesenterica, and acute hydrocephalus, all of which are forms of tubercular disease, the lower death-rate of the Jews is also well marked. On the other hand, the Jews appear to be more affected by diseases of the nervous system, and especially by diseases of the spinal cord, and by diabetes, by diseases of the heart and great vessels, by diseases of the digestive system, by diseases of the urinary organs, and by diseases of the skin than their neighbors, as will be seen by the following table showing the number of deaths from these causes per 1,000 of all deaths among them, as compared with the corresponding figures derived from the census of 1880 :

| | Jews, 1890. | | Census, 1880 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. |
| Diseases of nervous system | 121.21 | 114.43 | 118.62 | 108.61 |
| Diseases of the spinal cord | 9.40 | 6.19 | 3.73 | 3.32 |
| Diabetes | 19.85 | 19.59 | 2.74 | 1.21 |
| Diseases of heart and great vessels | 77.32 | 89.69 | 39.90 | 39.51 |
| Diseases of digestive system | 60.61 | 82.47 | 47 12 | 44 02 |
| Diseases of urinary organs | 33.44 | 27.84 | 22.44 | 10.77 |
| Diseases of the skin | 3.14 | 5.15 | 2.83 | 2.42 |

The death-rates among the Jews in relation to occupations present some curious differences. Taking only those living from fifteen to forty-five years of age, we find the annual death-rate per 1,000 to be : for all males having occupations, 2.76 ; lawyers, 7.63 ; physicians, 4.35 ; clerks and book-keepers, 3.78 ; commercial travellers, 2.67 ; shop-keepers, 2 ; wholesale merchants, 1.54; cigar-makers, 7.14 ; tailors, 3. For the females from fifteen to forty-five years of age having occupations the annual death-rates per 1,000 were : for all occupations, 2.24 ; musicians and teachers of music, 3.70 ; servants, 4 ; stenographers and typewriters, 3 ; dressmakers, 3.92.

The death-rate of Jewish lawyers from consumption is over five times greater than the average death-rate from this cause among these people. Jewish physicians are twice as liable to fatal diseases of the nervous system as are other Jews. The cigar-makers and tobacco-dealers are especially liable to consumption, to diabetes, to diseases of the nervous system, and to diseases of the heart. Physicians and bankers have relatively heavy death-rates from Bright's disease. Many other interesting peculiarities of the relation of certain causes of death to particular occupations appear in these data, but their true significance cannot be estimated until

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we have the results of the census for persons of other races engaged in these same occupations with which to compare them.

The death-rate from diabetes among Jews born in the United States is very low (1.5 per 10,000), while among those born in Germany it is 9.2. The death-rate from diseases of the nervous system is 47 per 10,000 among those born in the United States and 34 per 10,000 among those born in Germany.

These results correspond very well with those which have been deduced from European data, and, although the figures are not absolutely correct, they make it extremely probable that there are real differences between these people and the rest of our population as regards liability to certain forms of disease and to deaths from certain causes.

Are these differences due to race characteristics, properly so called, to original and inherited differences in bodily organization, or are they, rather, to be attributed to the customs, habits, and modes of life of the two classes of people?

This is a very important question, for upon the answer to it depend the replies to a number of questions in practical hygiene and sociology. It is true that in one sense the answer may be that it may be due to both, with a time-difference only—that the race characteristics have been produced by heredity and natural selection transmitting differences in physical structure, which differences were due originally to peculiarity in diet, habits, occupation, etc., and that the same results might be produced sooner or later in any other race by subjecting it to the same influences. But even if we grant this, there is much less probability of being able to induce people to adopt a particular regimen for the sake of the health and long life of their great-great-grandchildren than to induce them to adopt it for their own personal comfort and prosperity, or for that of their immediate offspring.

Let us take as an example the fact that in this country, as in other countries, the Jews are less liable than others to tuberculosis, and especially to pulmonary consumption. The *bacillus tuberculosis* gains admission to the living body by being swallowed in the meat and milk coming from tuberculous animals, and perhaps occasionally in other articles of food or drink, or by being inhaled in air in which its spores are floating. These spores in the air come mainly from the sputa of persons suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs or throat, which sputa has been dried and

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ground to fine dust. This bacillus or its spores must be inhaled in the course of a year by a vast number of persons who do not suffer any noticeable effects from its entrance into the air-passages.

Why, then, have some escaped evil results while others have suffered? In the first place, to develop tubercular growth requires not only the presence of the living specific bacillus, but material suitable for its nutrition. The healthy living cells and fluids of the human body do not furnish such material; on the contrary, their tendency is rather to destroy the vitality of the germs, provided but few of the latter are present at one time. But when the inhaled spore finds a resting-place among cells which are either dead or of lowered vitality, as in the exudations from an inflamed throat or air-tube, it may then develop and multiply into numbers sufficient to kill the living cells, or neutralize the poisonous properties of the lymph or serum with which it comes in contact in the progress of its growth. The bacilli must kill the living animal protoplasm before they can use it as food; and whether they will be able to do this, or will be killed themselves in the conflict, depends partly upon the number of the germs present and partly on conditions of the cells and animal fluids of which we as yet know but little.

Now, is there anything about the social life of the Jews which lessens the probability of their swallowing or inhaling this specific bacillus or its spores? As regards their food, there is certainly less probability that the germ will be present in their meat, because of the system of meat-inspection practised in connection with the slaughtering by Jewish butchers of animals intended for food. This system leads to the rejection of meat from animals affected with tuberculosis, especially when this disease has so affected one or both lungs of the animal that these cannot be readily inflated. The effect of this as regards pulmonary consumption among the Jews is, however, so extremely small as not to be worth taking into account. The tuberculosis which is due to food containing the bacillus is much more likely to affect the abdominal viscera, producing what is known as tabes-mesenterica; or the membranes of the brain, producing meningitis or acute hydrocephalus; or the lymphatic glands, or bones, producing much of what is known as scrofula, than it is to affect the lungs. Moreover, thorough cooking will usually destroy the vitality of most of the bacilli in meats.



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As regards the risk from milk obtained from tuberculous animals, which is a very real one, especially in the production of acute hydrocephalus and diseases of the bones and joints, Jews are quite as much exposed to it as other people.

As regards the liability of inhaling dust containing the spores of the bacillus, we can only say that it is somewhat smaller for the Jews than for the people among whom they reside, owing to the fact that comparatively few of them are suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis; and hence in their own homes, society meeting-places, and congregations, in which for a considerable part of their daily life they are almost entirely separated from other people, there is less probability of the presence of dried tuberculous sputa than there is in the residences and places of assemblage of the average population. This, however, would not explain why the Hebrews originally became less afflicted with tuberculosis, and is hardly sufficient to fully explain why they now suffer so little from this disease; bearing in mind the fact that they are quite as much exposed as others to the inhalation of tubercular dust in the air of streets, theatres, sleeping-cars, public conveyances, etc. It is very true that this partial immunity from pulmonary tuberculosis, though common in Europe as well as in this country, is not universal, and varies greatly in different groups of the Jewish race.

Whether the leucocytes, or blood-serum, of one particular race of men differ from those of others in their destructive effects upon the vitality of micro-organisms of any particular species has not yet been determined, and, in fact, so far as I am aware, the experiment has not yet been tried. But it would not be at all surprising if such a difference were found to exist, in view of the differences which we know have been found to exist between different varieties of the same species of animal as regards immunity from the pathogenic effects of certain micro-organisms.

So far as excessive liability to diseases of the nervous system, especially diabetes and posterior spinal sclerosis, is concerned, it is no doubt partly due to peculiarities of physical organization and partly to occupations, and in some cases to excesses which make especially exhausting demands upon the nervous centres.

If we compare the relative proportions of tubercular diseases occurring among the poor and destitute classes who receive hospital accommodation, we find that out of 28,750 persons admitted to the Jews' Hospital in New York for all causes, 1,270

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were admitted for consumption, giving a ratio of 44.17 per 1,000 of admissions; while in the Roosevelt Hospital, out of 25,583 admissions, 1,738 were for consumption, or 67.93 per 1,000. For diabetes the usual excess is shown among the Hebrews; thus for the Jews' Hospital the proportion of admissions is 2.05 per 1,000, and for the Roosevelt, 0.89.

As regards cancer and malignant tumors, we find that the deaths from these causes among the Hebrews occur in about the same proportion to deaths from other diseases as they do in the average population. But as the ratio of deaths to population is less among the Jews, so the ratio of deaths from malignant diseases to population is also less. Among the living population the proportion found affected with cancer among the Jews was 6.48 per 1,000, while of those reported sick by the United States census of 1880 for the general population, the proportion was 10.01 per 1,000.

Upon the whole, it appears to me that we must conclude that those Jews who have been in the United States for more than five years have a decidedly lower death-rate and greater longevity than the people of the same class by whom they are surrounded, and that this greater longevity, together with certain peculiarities of immunity as regards some diseases and excessive liability to others, is in part due to hereditary peculiarities of structure, or, in other words, to race characteristics, and in part to their somewhat isolated and peculiar modes of life.

We cannot yet see the full bearing of many of the results obtained by the tabulation of the data relating to these Jewish families, because the data collected by the Eleventh Census relating to persons of Irish, German, French, Italian, or Scandinavian descent residing in the United States have not yet been compiled into corresponding tables, and are not available for comparison. It is, however, evident that these Jews have a much lower death-rate and decidedly greater longevity than the rest of our people, and that their marriage- and birth-rates are below the average. It also seems probable that they possess a partial immunity from and a special liability to certain forms of disease; that with prolonged residence in the United States their death-rate is increasing; and that their natural increase is somewhat greater in the South than it is in the North.

The data are not sufficient in number or in probable accuracy

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to warrant more than the statement that it is rather more than an even chance that these last conclusions are correct, but they certainly give rise to questions which merit extended and careful investigation. The great majority of the peculiarities in these vital statistics appear to be connected with the occupations, social relations, and mode of life of the people rather than with special race characteristics, and they will therefore tend to disappear so far as the Jews' mode of life becomes assimilated to that of their neighbors. In Europe the Jews have been kept apart from other races, partly by religious and other ties acting from within, and partly by compressive persecution acting from without.

In this country both of these causes of segregation, and of consequent hereditary transmission of physiological peculiarities, are becoming weaker; the latter much more so than the former.

In Europe mixed marriages between Jews and persons of other races are comparatively infertile, but we have no evidence as to whether this continues to be the case in the United States. Thus far their great proportional increase in this country has been entirely due to immigration, for the excess of births over deaths among them has not been greater than it has been among the average population, although greater than among the people of English descent who have been in the country for more than a century.

In the old world the Jews have certainly shown remarkable staying powers in the struggle for existence; and to the physician, the physiologist, and the sanitarian this is not specially surprising when their comparative temperance, their system of female hygiene, and their occupations are considered. In this country some of these influences are different, especially among the males between fifteen and forty-five years of age, many of whom are probably more addicted to alcoholic and sexual excesses than their ancestors were, if we may judge by the comparative frequency among them of certain forms of disease, which has attracted the attention of physicians in our large cities, and which is also indicated by the statistics referred to in this paper.

They have shown that they can resist adversity, but whether they can also withstand the influences of wealth and freedom, and retain the modes of life which have heretofore given them length of days, remains to be seen.

JOHN S. BILLINGS.

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# REMINISCENCES OF AMERICAN HOTELS.

BY MAX O'RELL.

THE American hotels are all alike.

Some are worse.

Describe one and you have described them all.

On the ground floor, a large entrance hall strewed with cuspidors for the men, and a side entrance provided with an awning, a sort of triumphal arch, for the ladies. On this floor the sexes are separated as at the public baths.

In the large hall, a wide counter behind which solemn clerks, whose business faces relax not a muscle, are ready with their book to enter your name and assign you a number. A small army of colored porters ready to take you in charge. Not a salute, not a word, not a smile of welcome. The negro takes your bag and makes a sign that your case is settled. You follow him. For the time being you lose your personality and become No. 375, as you would in jail. Don't ask questions. Theirs not to answer. Don't ring the bell to ask for a favor if you set any value on your time. All the rules of the establishment are printed and posted in your bedroom; you have to submit to them. No question to ask. You know everything, and nobody else in the house does. Henceforward you will have to be hungry from 7 to 9 A.M., from 1 to 3 P.M., and from 6 to 8 P.M. The slightest infringement on the routine would stop the wheel; so don't ask, for instance, if you could have a meal at 4 o'clock; you would be taken for a lunatic, or a crank, as they call it in America.

Between meals you will be supplied with ice-water *ad libitum*.

No privacy. No coffee-room, no smoking-room. No place where you can go and quietly sip a cup of coffee or drink a glass of beer with a cigar. You can have a drink at the bar, and then go and sit down in the hall among the crowd.

Life in an American hotel is an alternation of the cellular system during the night and of the gregarious system during the

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day; an alternation of the penitential systems carried out at Philadelphia and at Auburn.

It is not in the bedroom either that you must seek anything to cheer you. The bed is generally good, but only for the night. The room is perfectly nude. Not even "Napoleon's Farewell to His Soldiers at Fontainebleau," as in France, or "Strafford Walking to the Scaffold," as in England. Not that these pictures are particularly cheerful; still they break the monotony of the wall-paper. Here the only oases in the brown or gray desert are cautions.

First of all, a notice that, in a cupboard near the window, you will find some twenty yards of coiled rope which, in case of fire, you are to fix to a hook outside the window. The rest is guessed. You fix the rope, and—you let yourself go. From a sixth, seventh, or eighth story the prospect is lively. Another caution informs you of all that you must not do, such as your own washing in your bedroom. Another warns you that if, on retiring, you put your boots outside the door, you do so at your own risk and peril. Another is posted near the door, close to an electric bell. With a little care and much practice you will be able to carry out the instructions printed thereon. The only thing wonderful about the contrivance is that the servants never make mistakes.

Press once for ice-water.
" twice " hall-boy.
" three times for fireman.
" four " " chambermaid.
" five " " hot water.
" six " " ink and writing materials.
" seven " " baggage.
" eight " " messenger.

In some hotels I have seen the list carried to number twelve.

Another notice tells you what the proprietor's responsibilities are, and at what time the meals take place. Now, this last notice is the most important of all. Woe to you if you forget it! For if you should present yourself one minute after the dining-room door is closed, no human consideration would get it open for you. Supplications, arguments, would be of no avail. Not even money.

"What do you mean?" some old-fashioned European will exclaim. "When the *table d'hôte* is over, of course you cannot

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expect the *menu* to be served to you; but surely you can order a steak or a chop."

No, you cannot; not even an omelette or a piece of cold meat. If you arrive at one minute past three (in small towns, at one minute past two), you find the dining-room door closed, and you must wait till six o'clock to see its hospitable doors open again.

When you enter the dining-room, you must not believe that you can go and sit where you like. The chief waiter assigns you a seat, and you must take it. With a superb wave of the hand he signs to you to follow him. He does not even turn round to see if you are behind him, following him in all the meanders he describes amidst the sixty, seventy, sometimes eighty, tables that are in the room. He takes it for granted you are an obedient, submissive traveller who knows his duty. Altogether I travelled in the United States for about ten months, and I never came across an American so independent, so daring, as to actually take any other seat than that assigned to him by that tremendous potentate, the chief waiter. Occasionally, just to try him, I would sit down in a chair I took a fancy to. But he would come and fetch me, and tell me that I could not stay there. In Europe the waiter asks you where you would like to sit. In America you ask him where you may sit. He is a paid servant, and therefore a master in America. He is in command, not of the other waiters, but of the guests. Several times, recognizing friends in the dining-room, I asked the man to take me to their tables (I should not have dared go by myself), and the permission was granted with a patronizing sign of the head. I have constantly seen Americans stop on the threshold of the dining-room and wait until the chief waiter had returned from placing a guest to come and fetch them in their turn. I never saw them venture alone and take an empty seat without the sanction of the waiter.

The guests seem struck with awe in that dining-room, and solemnly bolt their food as quickly as they can. You would think silence was enjoined by the statute-book. Your hear less noise in an American hotel dining-room containing five hundred people than you do at a French *table d'hôte* accommodating fifty people, at a German one containing a dozen, or at a table where two Italians are dining *tête à tête*.

The chief waiter at large hotels in the North and the West is

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a white man; in the South he is a mulatto or a black; but white or black, he is always a magnificent specimen of his race. There is not a ghost of a savor of the serving-man about him: no whiskers and shaven upper lip reminding you of the waiters of the Old World; but always a fine mustache, the twirling of which helps to give an air of nonchalant superiority to its wearer. The mulatto head waiters in the South really look like dusky princes. Many of them are so handsome and carry themselves so superbly that you find them very impressive at first, and would fain apologize to them. You feel as if you wanted to thank them for kindly condescending to concern themselves about anything so commonplace as your seat at table.

In the smaller towns the waiters are all—waitresses. The waiting is done by damsels entirely—and also by the guests of the hotel.

If the Southern head waiter looks like a prince, what must we say of the head waitress in the East, the North, and the West? No term short of queenly will describe her stately bearing as she moves about among her bevy of reduced duchesses. She is evidently chosen for her appearance. She is "divinely tall" as well as "most divinely fair," and, as if to add to her importance, she is crowned with a gigantic mass of frizzled hair. All the waitresses have this elaborate coiffure of curls, rolls, and bangs. It is a livery, as caps are in the old world, but instead of being a badge of servitude, it looks, and is, alarmingly emancipated; so much so that, before making close acquaintance with my dishes, I always examined them with great care. A beautiful mass of dishevelled hair looks very well on the head of a woman, but *one* in your soup, even though it had strayed from the tresses of your beloved one, would make the corners of your mouth go down and the tip of your nose go up.

A regally handsome woman always "goes well in the landscape," as the French say, and I have seen specimens of these waitresses so handsome and so commanding-looking that, if they cared to come to Europe and play the queens in London and Paris pantomimes, I feel sure they would command quite exceptional prices, and draw big salaries and crowded houses.

How grand this lady is, as she approaches you, darts a look of supreme contempt at you, flings a spoon and fork and knife down on the table in front of you, and, turning her back upon you, gabbles off the *menu* in one breath!

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The thing which, perhaps, strikes me most disagreeably in the American hotel dining-room is the sight of the tremendous waste of food that goes on at every meal. No European, I suppose, can fail to be struck with this; but to a Frenchman it would naturally be most remarkable. In France, where, I venture to say, people live as well as anywhere else, if not better, there is a perfect horror of anything like waste of good food. It is to me, therefore, a repulsive thing to see the wanton manner in which some Americans will waste at one meal enough to feed several hungry fellow-creatures.

In the large hotels, conducted on the American plan, there are rarely fewer than fifty different dishes on the *menu* at dinner-time. Every day and at every meal you may see people order three or four times as much of this food as they could under any circumstances eat, and, picking at and spoiling one dish after another, send the bulk away uneaten. I am bound to say that this practice is not only observed in hotels where the charge is so much a day, but in those conducted on the European plan—that is to say, where you pay for everything you order. There I notice that people proceed in much the same wasteful fashion. It is evidently not a desire to have more than is paid for, but simply a bad and ugly habit. I hold that about five hundred hungry people could be fed out of the waste that is going on at such large hotels as the Palmer House and the Grand Pacific Hotel of Chicago,—and I have no doubt such five hundred hungry people could easily be found in Chicago every day.

I think that many Europeans are prevented from going to America by an idea that the expense of travelling and living there is very great. This is quite a delusion. The price of houses, clothing, and servants is far higher than in Europe, but there the difference stops, I believe. For my part, I find that hotels are as cheap in America as in England, at any rate, and railway travelling in Pullman cars is certainly cheaper than in European first-class carriages, and infinitely more comfortable. Putting aside in America such hotels as Delmonico's in New York, the Thorndyke in Boston, the Richelieu in Chicago, as you would the Grand Hotel in Paris, and the Savoy, the Victoria, the Metropole in London, and taking the good hotels of America, such as the Grand Pacific in Chicago, the West House in Minneapolis, the Windsor in Montreal, the Cadillac in Detroit (I mention those I remember

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as the very best), you will find that in these hotels you are comfortably lodged and magnificently fed for from three to five dollars a day. In no good hotel of France, England, Germany, Switzerland, would you get the same amount of comfort—or even luxury, I might say—at the same price, and those who should require a sitting-room would get it for a little less than they would have to pay in a European hotel.

The only very dear hotels I have come across in the United States are those of Virginia. There I have been charged as much as two dollars a day, but never in my life did I pay so dear for what I had; never in my life did I see so many dirty rooms or so many messes that were unfit for human food.

But I will just say this much for the American refinement of feeling to be met with, even in the hotels of Virginia, even in the "lunch"-rooms of little stations: you are supplied, at the end of each meal, with a bowl of water—to rinse your mouth.

MAX O'RELL.

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# CAN WE COERCE CANADA?

BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

A CONDITION of commercial belligerency exists along the entire northern border of the United States. The extent of this border-line, four thousand miles in length, and the fact that beyond it lies the greater half of the continent, impart to this condition of hostility an importance which makes the question of its abatement second to nothing else now before the American public. Along this unequalled line of demarcation, which runs athwart the continent some degrees to the south of its centre, the vast commerce of the United States breaks like a huge wave, and rolls back upon itself. Beyond it lies a region larger, richer, and more suspectible of development for the good of mankind than any other region on the earth's surface. It is far more attractive as a field for opportunity to the American people, far nearer, and likely to be more contributory to their profit and greatness, than is the continent of Africa, which England and Germany now carve in two for the purposes of trade. Its possibilities of commerce vastly exceed those of the distant southern nationalities to whom Mr. Blaine has beckoned, and whom Congress has called. Between the United States and these Southern countries not only distance intervenes, but difference in language, ignorance, slowness of development, limited by meagreness of wants; the small range of articles to be exchanged affording a market only limited in extent, and striven for by the most vigorous competitors in the world, already intrenched in possession and in financial control of all the channels of trade.

Compared with these conditions, those which prevail on the north reveal a region between which and the United States there is an absolute physical union of greater extent than elsewhere in the world joins two countries together. No barriers exist between them except rivers and lakes, which, instead of being

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barriers dividing the people, should be bonds to unite them. In this region are found products more varied, more susceptible of wealth-producing forces, more needed by the United States, more available for development by its own people, and likely to be more contributory to their greatness and progress, than the combined contributions possible to all the rest of the world.

When the average American trader and manufacturer looks north, and from the most active commercial centres realizes that only a night's journey brings him up against a stone-wall, so far as the possibilities of trade are concerned, he views with impatience the fiscal conditions of the continent. He knows full well that the physical conditions are all favorable to an extension of commerce in this direction as far as human life can exist. The fiscal conditions are those in which hostility to trade inheres. It is these which retard the growth of opportunity, confining him to a field in which excessive production and excessive competition even now render his efforts well-nigh profitless. The continent, it has been well said by Goldwin Smith, is "an economic whole"; and as such it has been described by Emerson as "the last best gift of God to mankind." Yet by an utterly unnecessary dual fiscal system, which cuts it into two parts, less than one-half of its vast extent imparts its wealth to the world. It rests with the American people to say how long this shall remain.

The trade of the United States should yield just as good a return from Manitoba as from Minnesota; in Algoma as in Michigan. As much money should be made by Pennsylvania out of Ontario as out of Ohio—indeed, out of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, the province of Ontario being larger and richer than all these three combined. New England should blossom as a rose from cheapened food supplies, with the practical control of the possibilities of the vast mineral resources in the maritime provinces, whose natural wealth exceeds the natural wealth of New York and Pennsylvania combined, but which, for want of a market, is silent, and dormant, and dead. Coal, which on the Atlantic as on the Pacific coast is found only within Canadian territory, is the needed force to make successful the coast-line cities in competition for foreign trade; the product of the five thousand miles of coast-line fisheries, the best in the world, is the gift of God for man's sustenance, and should not be left in idleness, and lost; neither, in view of the treeless prairies of this

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country, should the wealth of timber, covering the vast areas of the northern half of the continent, be allowed to disappear by fire and rot, yearly diminishing its value to a greater extent than that which is cut and consumed. Indeed, a survey of the whole continent makes so apparent the utter folly of cutting it into two parts by two fiscal systems that any plan by which it could be commercially united is worthy of the highest ambition of the greatest statesman; and toward this the merchants and manufacturers, the publicist and the politician regardless of party, should instantly and persistently address themselves.

It will be said, and with some truth, that the United States is in no respect to blame for the continued isolation of Canada from the marvellous progress which for the rest of the country has made the century now closing the most glorious in the history of the world. Whatever the causes of the retardation which has prevailed on the northern half of the continent as compared with the southern, the example and the influences prevalent in the United States have all been in favor of the largest growth and the most rapid development. Indeed, it might with truth be said that there has always been a perfect readiness to receive Canada on terms of perfect equality into the union of commonwealths that has made the southern portion of the continent the wonder of the world, while Canada, occupying an equally great area, and with advantages equally potent, has remained almost a sealed book, whose contents were unknown except to a few ardent souls, and even unsuspected by her own people equally with the people of Great Britain and the United States.

But while there has been a perfect readiness for a union on one side of the border, there has been a bitter and almost unexplainable hostility to it on the Canadian side. The material advantages that would follow annexation have always been abundantly apparent, but these have never seemed to be sufficiently valued to turn the scale against sentiment and prejudice. Although now and then, from some remote and non-progressive place, like Quebec in the east or Windsor in the west, a single voice is raised to favor political union, there is absolutely no reliable or marked sign favorable to that movement. These insignificant and altogether meaningless indications are caught up by the newspaper press of the United States, and made the most of as an expression of popular sentiment favorable to a political union; but

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there never was a greater mistake. While it may be that there is a growth of sentiment, especially among young men, favorable to annexation, and while deep down in the hearts of many a community there is, perhaps, a fixed belief that this is the true solution of the difficulties of the present, and the true destiny of the country for the future, there has never yet been, and is not likely for many years to be, an exhibition of this belief sufficiently practical in its effect to make it a safe sign by which to judge the real Canadian sentiment.

This conviction cannot be too strongly impressed upon American writers and thinkers. Those who make a study of this question in Canada, and whose sources of information are of the most elaborate and comprehensive character, should be believed in such a case, before the occasional outburst of some sensational writer or the views of some disgruntled politician are accepted as the voice of the people. It should always be borne in mind that the whole body of politics in Canada is permeated through and through with loyalty to the British throne, for which universal sentiment there is hardly cause for surprise. It must be remembered that Great Britain has treated Canada with the utmost liberality; that the Canadians are a practically self-governing community; and that, in addition to loans of British money in amounts second only to the vast credits given the Argentine Republic, which have recently brought such disaster in financial circles in London, no interference has been made, and nothing but kindness and generosity extended. To contemplate the cessation of a sentiment of loyalty to Great Britain, and to transfer the allegiance of a whole people to her great rival, is simply to contemplate a condition of traitorism that no political party could for one instant afford to assume. There is not a single constituency in the whole of Canada to-day that could return to Parliament a member pledged to annexation. It is doubtful if in any one community, however small, an officer so insignificant as a pound-master or constable could be elected on that ticket. How long it will take, therefore, to effect a change by which a majority of the people would favor a political union, those who know the country well estimate by generations, and not by years. Unless, indeed, there should be some denial by Great Britain of rights and privileges to which Canadians deemed themselves entitled, there can be no excuse for secession.

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Meanwhile it must always be borne in mind that it is only by the exercise of constitutional means that a political union between the two countries can be achieved. The United States will seek neither by force nor by purchase to deprive Great Britain of 40 per cent. of her empire. Neither can Great Britian permit the sacrifice of a foot of her territory except by the practical consent of four-fifths of her people concerned. The consequences of the secession of this vast region to republicanism might well be contemplated with concern as to the effects on Great Britain itself, —upon institutions venerable by use for centuries,—while upon India, Australia, and other dependencies they might well be of a character most far-reaching and important.

Therefore, in view of such conditions of sentiment in Canada, with the certainty that there will be no justification for a change of fealty, and, further, that such action might prove more fatal to the influence of Great Britain in the world than almost any other event that could happen, it will be seen that the possibility of annexation to the United States is, to say the least, very remote. No sensible man, with a knowledge of all the conditions that prevail, would set about to accomplish a political union by direct means, and certainly no political party, in the hope of obtaining control of the constitutional means necessary to give it effect, would avow this as their object with any expectation of success within a generation. There is no stigma more severe than that of disloyalty to one's government, and no sentiment more difficult to overcome than attachment to the institutions of one's country. The people of the United States, more than any other, are able to estimate the force of the sentiment of loyalty, the inestimable value of its cultivation, and the danger, the loss, and the disgrace of a secession from its influences. Hence to contemplate in Canada a movement towards throwing off an allegiance of which most men are prouder than anything else under the sun—an allegiance most valued, most sacred, and up to this time most beneficial — is to consider a possibility that to those who understand the question best cannot arise. Certainly no coercion by a denial of material advantage, no policy of retaliation or isolation, as a penalty for indulging in such a sentiment, can ever be expected to effect a change and so far revolutionize public sentiment as to make it a force in favor of disloyalty.

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What, therefore, under the circumstances is the best plan by which to abate the commercial belligerency that prevails along the northern border of the United States? If the people in this country cannot conquer, cannot purchase, and cannot lure to a political alliance the people of Canada, can a commercial bargain be made with them by which free access can be had to their sources of enormous wealth, and to the profits of a trade that their development will create? The answer is that nothing is easier of accomplishment than this commercial bargain. Political union is just now impossible, but a commercial union is quite within the early range of probabilities. The principle of reciprocity with nations on this continent, the favor toward which has pervaded this people like the light of the morning, is all that it is necessary to apply, and, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, is all that a political alliance could bring about.

In seeking to open up the commerce between the United States and southern nationalities, there has been no thought of a political connection. There are few who ever dream that Mexico or Cuba will be assimilated into this union of commonwealths. Therefore, when desirous of extending trade to the north, why should a political union be a condition precedent, when political union is unnecessary, clearly impossible, and for the present seems to many most undesirable? On this latter point there would be no justification for the United States to precipitate the affairs of half a continent into departments already overtaxed, and heap additional burdens upon legislative machinery already failing to perform one-half the demands upon it. Clearly, therefore, if without material change in Canada, and without the slightest alteration in the political conditions in the United States, a commercial relation between the two countries can obliterate the belligerency now existing, the attractiveness of the plan should be sufficient to win the support of the merchant and manufacturer, of the miners and shippers, of the railway men, and of all who want to broaden their opportunities, even should the politicians await the bidding of all these to put the plan into force.

The question may be asked, What justification is there for the belief that the people of Canada are ready to break down the barriers of trade? What ground is there for the assertion, for instance, that, while they are willing to remove these barriers, so

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far as the United States is concerned, they will keep them up against all foreign nations, Great Britain included? How can the statement be justified that Canada is so intensely loyal that she will not for an instant contemplate a political alliance with the United States, as against her connection with Great Britain, yet will turn around and make a trade alliance with the rest of the continent that shuts out the manufactures of Great Britain and admits those of the United States duty free? It must be allowed that there is a seeming inconsistency in this position, and it must be admitted that there is little in the past or present attitude of the government of Canada to justify the expectation that this condition of reciprocity can be brought about between the two English-speaking nations that hold this continent in common. But it must always be borne in mind that in all self-governing communities, such as Canada preëminently is, there are two parties; and generally, if the people are intelligent and self-reliant, the parties are not only pretty evenly divided, but with time and circumstances greatly change their views.

It is most important to understand that in Canada these two parties, known as the Tory and Liberal parties, hold directly opposite views regarding the relations with the United States; that the Tory party believe in a policy of isolation, and to them must be attributed the belligerency already referred to. The Liberals, on the other hand, have adopted, as the chief plank in their platform, the policy which will break down entirely the trade barriers that now exist between the two countries, and, by unrestricted reciprocity, lay the basis for the settlement of every question that now disturbs the two peoples, and make possible a freedom in trade as complete as that which now exists between the States of the Union or the provinces of the Dominion. This is now the real difference between the two parties. The Tory party of Canada has ruled that country for the past fifteen years, and under the premiership of Sir John Macdonald, whom some look upon as a great statesman, but whom others regard as only a shrewd politician, the condition of commercial hostility towards the United States has been reached. From a Tory point of view, the conditions which now prevail between the two countries are no doubt justified; and the expectation that, altogether independent of the United States, a great nation can be erected in Canada to pro-



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mote and add to the glory of the British flag is in the minds of a great many people in Canada, and is also a common thought in Great Britain.

Whatever may have been the motive, or whatever may be the outcome, the policy of the Tory party has certainly been in the direction of isolation. To this must be attributed the harsh and antiquated interpretation of the fishery treaty—the refusal of hospitality to a few fishing-smacks in Canadian ports, while enjoying an unbounded hospitality for British and Canadian ships in every port of the United States. To this policy must be credited the denial of bonding privileges for a few quintals of fish, while enjoying unlimited bonding privileges from the United States, without which Canadian railroads would rapidly reach bankruptcy. The same idea prevails in the discrimination against United States vessels in the canals, the creation of which was only justified by the patronage of these craft. But above all these minor indications of hostility is the national policy specifically adopted by Canada, resulting in a tariff shutting out American products and manufactures to a degree that was only equalled by the drastic conditions of the McKinley Bill, subsequently enforced against Canadian products, which merely followed the example already set by the Canadian government itself. This catalogue of Tory achievements, supplemented by the guerilla railroad warfare which, owing to the enforcement of the United States inter-State regulations, threatens to ruin American railway investments, and which the Canadian government is accused of encouraging, makes the indictment complete.

Such being the record of the Tory party so far as its relations to the United States are concerned, it now remains to be seen whether such a policy of hostility will receive the approbation of the majority of the Canadian people. This will be tested at the general Parlimentary election, which occurs every five years throughout the Dominion, and which is now due within eighteen months, though it may, by the action of the government, be precipitated at an earlier period. Meanwhile the great Liberal party of Canada, in order to make the issue perfectly plain, have adopted a policy precisely opposite to that of the Tory party, especially so far as it relates to the United States. They propose to place squarely before the people the sole question whether these relations shall be of the most in-

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timate character, or whether the policy hitherto pursued shall be persisted in. For the first time in the history of the Dominion the issue is fairly presented in Canada as to what policy shall hereafter prevail in regard to her neighbor to the south. If the Tory party prevail, the future policy of the country will be that indicated by the past administration of affairs. If the Liberal party prevail, a new government will be formed, and a policy inaugurated as different as possible from that existing at the present moment.

It is most important, at this juncture, that the results of a Liberal victory should be perfectly understood. In the first place, the Liberal party are unequivocally committed to the principle of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, providing there is an expectation that such a proposition will be acceded to. Reciprocity implies a perfect and unrestricted exchange of every natural product and every manufactured article; the effect of which would be that commerce shall be as unrestricted along the whole four thousand miles of border-line as it is now between the States of the Union or the provinces of the Dominion. The consequences of this obliteration of the commercial barrier will be that the area of the trade of the United States could be doubled; while, inasmuch as an enormous development would follow in Canada from the open market which would thus be afforded in this country, the volume of trade would increase in the same manner, with the same rapidity, and with the same profit as it increased with the opening of the Western States. It will rest largely with the Americans themselves to share in the profits of this development, as they already are largely in the individual possession of lands, timber limits, and mineral locations in Canada. These they could further increase, for by the liberality of the laws they can possess themselves, by purchase, of any property that promises a large return under the changed circumstances. Free raw material from all parts of the Dominion, greatly needed to cheapen manufactures for export, produced at a profit largely by Americans themselves, and by the necessary development affording them a market for American manufactures, is a result the value of which surely no one can question, as growing out of a reciprocal arrangement between the two countries, at no cost of political disturbance to either.

But aside from the immediate and material advantages that

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would follow from a change of policy in Canada, there would be results far more significant. For instance, Canada, by the success of the Liberal party, will demand the right to be recognized in making treaties which concern her interests. This is rather a startling claim for a colony, but it will be enforced if the people so decide. Again, unrestricted reciprocity with the United States implies that American goods are not only to be admitted free of duty, but for the purposes of revenue, and to prevent Canada from being the back-door for smugglers into the United States, the duty on foreign goods will be maintained at the present rates, which are practically equal to those that prevail in the United States, and which can readily be made to conform to them. Thus there is proposed a discrimination in favor of American manufactures, which are to be admitted free, while British goods are practically prohibited from entering in competition by the exaction of a duty.

Is it possible to conceive of a movement more significant in British North America than this attempt at fiscal freedom from British control? If, as the first step towards independence, the Canadian people were asked to vote upon the proposition to procure for them political freedom, no one act could be proposed which would be more significant in that direction than the one which the Liberal party now practically ask the Canadian people to acquiesce in. But it is not to favor independence or any other distinctive political movement that the question is put. It is simply to carry to its legitimate result the example already set by the Tory party when they inaugurated their national policy, the effect of which was to discriminate against English goods in favor of Canadian manufactures. It is only pushing this liberty to its legitimate result to propose that, in exchange for the near-by market of the United States for the manufactures and products of Canada, the Dominion shall offer an equally free admission to the products and manufactures of the United States. That the people of Canada will consent to this arrangement there can be little doubt, especially since the agricultural section of the McKinley Bill has afforded an object-lesson of such stupendous import as to perfectly convince them that the commercial hostility heretofore indulged in can have but one result—that of complete isolation, loss, and disaster to the most important interests of the Dominion.

But numerous other advantages would result to the United

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States from the election, by the people of Canada, of a government entirely friendly to this country. The fishery question, which, like Banquo's ghost, obtrudes itself unbidden at periods most inopportune, could forever be settled by Americans having the freest access to every port and every privilege, thus coming into practical possession, for the purposes of trade, of fishing facilities and fishing wealth, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, and in the gulfs and bays, lakes and rivers, unequalled in value in all the world. The transportation problem, too, which now taxes the ingenuity of statesmen to adjust with perfect fairness to all localities, can be completely settled. This can be done by the determination of the Liberal government to enact clauses for the regulation of railways within the Dominion precisely similar to those which the Inter-State-Commerce Law enforces in the United States. It is true that the competition of Canadian roads, by their short routes and splendid facilities, would continue to afford a means of communication between the New England States, on the one hand, and the Northwestern States, on the other. But this competition can be regulated in conformity with the system which prevails south of the lakes; more than which no one can demand. The coasting laws along the vast inland seas, the wrecking regulations, the extradition powers, the patent laws, the insurance-deposit rules, and numerous other international difficulties could all be adjusted in a spirit of amity by a Liberal government entirely friendly to the United States. This, under existing conditions, seems impossible.

In view, therefore, of the far-reaching importance which attaches to the impending general Parliamentary election in Canada, some action on the part of the United States would seem desirable in order that moral support should be afforded to the party whose whole aim is that of friendliness to this country. Up to this point the strongest argument which the Tory party is able to urge is that there is no disposition on the part of the United States towards better relations, and that the outcome of all the agitation in favor of the obliteration of the barrier between the two countries is the enactment of the McKinley Bill and the exaction of higher duties than ever before. But it is a mistake to interpret this as the sentiment of the commercial or manufacturing community of the United States; on the contrary, the action of Congress incorporating in its last tariff an invitation to south-

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ern nationalities to reciprocal relations is an indication in a precisely opposite direction. A resolution on the same lines towards reciprocity with Canada, similar to that which has been already adopted in favor of the southern nationalities, would completely remove the imputation that the United States will fail to respond to the election of a government entirely favorable to them.

It seems impossible to deny such action, for no party or body of statesmen can justify the inconsistency of the free admission of sugar and coffee and hides, and other southern products, in exchange for the manufactures of the United States, while denying an equally free admission to coal and timber and fish and copper, and other products of the north, for a like exchange of the products of the skilled labor of this country. Therefore it seems eminently appropriate that Congress should early in the present session, in anticipation of the general election in Canada, pass the resolution which the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, after much deliberation, has recommended through its chairman, Mr. Hitt, and which has been substantially incorporated in the proposal of Mr. Sherman in the Senate. This resolution simply provides that, whenever the government of the United States is certified that the government of Canada will admit, free of duty, all the products and manufactures of the United States, the President shall appoint three commissioners to meet an equal number of commissioners appointed by the Dominion of Canada, to prepare a plan for the freest exchange of products and manufactures, which plan is to be submitted for the approval of Congress before further action shall be taken.

If as the result of the passage of this resolution the Liberal party can go to the people and offer them the possibility of unrestricted intercourse with this country, and a government results whose whole attitude is that of friendliness and favor to this country, what greater act of legislation could be achieved than that which would contribute to the settlement of the numerous questions that now disturb the relations along the northern border, the result of which would be the complete obliteration, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, of the long barrier because of which, up to this time, so much belligerency exists?

ERASTUS WIMAN.

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# THE LATE FINANCIAL CRISIS.

BY HENRY CLEWS.

THE phenomena of a volcanic eruption or of a great earthquake are eagerly investigated by the men of science for what light they may cast upon the workings of the laws of nature. Not less reasonable may it be for the student of economics to avail himself of periodic financial upheavals for acquiring a broader judgment upon the laws of finance. For, as certainly as inorganic nature is governed by unchanging laws, are the exchanges of the products and services of mankind controlled by fixed natural ordinances, which ignore and finally supersede all the conventional arrangements by which society attempts to regulate its commercial intercourse.

It cannot be said that crises antecedent to the recent one have taught all that can be learned from such events. The late derangements have a special significance from the fact that, whilst the instrumentalities of finance remain virtually the same as they were under former panics, yet the conditions to which they are now applicable differ widely from those of previous periods; and that circumstance suggests a probability that existing arrangements may be found imperfectly adapted to current requirements, which is one of the main conclusions I hope to establish.

First of all, then, what are the phenomena with which we have to deal? (1) A sudden, extreme, and almost simultaneous fall in the prices of securities in both New York and London. (2) The antecedent symptoms of the break were apparent in some weeks of steady realizing upon corporate issues at both those centres, attended with the return from London to New York of a large amount (estimated at 10 to 12 millions) of railroad stocks and bonds. (3) This selling was stimulated by stringency in money in both cities, the Bank of England advancing its minimum rate of discount from 5 to 6 per cent., while the reserves of the New York

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Associated Banks fell 3½ millions below the legal minimum. (4) At this stage came rumors that a large London banking-house was in trouble, the extraordinary negotiation of a loan of 80 millions of francs by the Bank of France to the Bank of England, renewed large shipments of American securities from London to New York, and a condition of the local loan market which induced the New York Clearing-House to authorize the issue of Clearing-House certificates to its members—an expedient never resorted to except under grave emergencies. (5) A few days later came the explanation of the London rumor and of the extraordinary precautions so suddenly taken by the Bank of England and by the New York Clearing-House in an announcement that the great house of Baring Brothers was unable to provide for over thirty millions sterling of commitments, and that the house had been protected by the intervention of the Bank of England, conjointly with a syndicate comprising several of the leading banking-houses of London and of the provincial cities. (6) To better enable the Bank of England to meet all possible derangements arising from the troubles of the Barings, the British government authorized the bank to make, if found necessary, a special issue of notes, without the legally-required security of specie, the amount and conditions of which authorization have not yet been made public. (7) Following these extraordinary measures of protection at the two financial centres, there was a marked recovery of confidence in London, and a few days later the Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 6 to 5 per cent., with the ample reserve of 45.27 per cent.; whilst in New York there was a transient advance in the prices of stocks, followed, however, by a reaction and an increase of monetary stringency, which caused much commercial prostration and produced a serious crop of failures among mercantile, manufacturing, and banking establishments; these effects being especially severe in New York and Philadelphia.

Inquiry into the occasion of these extraordinary conditions will show that they are attributable to two entirely distinct sets of causes; one set being connected with the development of certain departments of enterprise and the negotiation of fiscal undertakings, and the other having to do with the financial instrumentalities through which such operations are effected. I propose to discuss these causes separately.

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The wave-law appears to play a part in human activities as important as the place assigned to it in the physical sciences. Material enterprise constantly oscillates between the extremes of quiescence and excitement, of conservatism and speculation, of contraction and expansion. The revolution of commercial and industrial methods consequent upon the introduction of steam and electricity has, however, so far as respects trade and manufactures, greatly diminished the violence of these oscillations and lengthened the period elapsing between their extremes. Steam has shortened the period of production and the time of transferring products from market to market, while the telegraph has virtually made the world one vast mart, with instant communication between all its parts. This has maintained, for the last fifteen years an unprecedented steadiness and uniformity in prices; which, by diminishing the risks of business, have proportionately reduced its exposure to great commercial derangements. Hence the late crisis found the trade of the country in a generally healthy condition, and what injury has indirectly befallen commerce is due almost entirely to the disruption of credit from purely monetary and financial causes.

The chief source of the recent troubles has arisen in connection with enterprises which admit of a liberal application of speculative methods; and among such enterprises the creation of railroads stands foremost. The panics of 1873 and 1884 were chiefly due to an excessive diversion of capital into the building of railroads, and also to the fact that the new companies were organized upon a grossly speculative and inflated basis. Within the last ten years we have had two distinct periods of over-construction of railroad. In 1879 the United States had 84,393 miles of road; in 1884 the mileage had risen to 125,152—an increase during the five years of 40,759 miles, or 48.3 per cent. This expansion was about four times the rate of increase of population during that period; which, without further evidence, may be taken as warranting the conclusion that this five-years' construction was out of all proportion to the growth of commerce and to the required increase of transportation facilities during that time. Had this immense over-construction been associated with sound methods of capitalization, the investors might have afforded to wait a few years, when the trade of the country would have grown up to the measure of the

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enlarged carrying capacity, and reasonable returns would be forthcoming. But the general radically-defective State laws relating to the organization of railroad corporations not only permitted the capital stock to be issued virtually without consideration, but also made it possible to issue mortgage bonds without getting an equivalent value in construction. It thus came to pass that, whilst the forty thousand miles of new road were capitalized and bonded for a total of about $2,720,000,000, the true amount of actual capital invested against these issues was probably considerably less than half that sum. These were the conditions that brought about the crash of 1884; which not only necessitated a sweeping reconstruction of the new balloon enterprises, but involved the stock of the older companies in a shrinkage of market value from 80 points, the average best prices in 1883, to 40, the average lowest prices in 1884.

It would seem that such a notorious result of speculative enterprise should have sufficed, if not to prevent a repetition of like extravagance, yet at least to postpone it until the disgrace had been forgotten. And yet, following the collapse of 1884, only one year of contraction of construction elapsed. In 1886 the furore reappeared, and in that year 5,877 miles of road were built; in 1887, 14,393 miles; in 1888, 6,277 miles; and in 1889, 6,268 miles—a total of 32,815 miles within four years. This increase is at the rate of 25.7 per cent. upon the mileage existing in 1885, which is about two and a half times the rate of the concurrent growth of population. It will hardly be pretended that this increase of construction was justified by a corresponding growth of trade within the period; for that would be to maintain that the national production had progressed at nearly three times the rate of the national population—manifestly an improbable, if not an impossible, proposition. It is true that the tonnage of the roads showed even a higher proportional gain, during these four years, than the mileage; but it is to be remembered that all the transportation connected with the building of the 32,815 miles of road is included in the returns of tonnage.

It is something in favor of the over-construction of the last four years that it has not run to the same degree of excess as was reached in the period from 1880 to 1884, inclusive; but that plea is more than counterbalanced by the fact that the second period of excess came so immediately on the heels of the previous one

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as to leave no interval for the repair of the crash of 1884 and for the distribution of the mass of securities issued previously to that culmination. Virtually, indeed, the two periods of excessive railroading run into each other and constitute one prolonged era of overcreation of speculative enterprises. In this very important sense the crisis of 1890 is the culmination and the winding-up of ten years of vicious financing, involving the issue of $4,609,000,000 of securities and the doubling of the railroad investments of the United States.

Among other causes contributing to the recent upheaval must be cited the injurious bearing of the Inter-State-Commerce Act upon the railroads. It may be safely stated, as the common opinion of railroad managers, that the result of that law has been to embarrass the effective working of the roads, to hinder economies in management, to diminish earnings, and to increase working expenses. Still more unjust and still more obstructive have been the restraints of the Granger laws and the intrusions of State commissioners. In the States most addicted to these interferences of State authority, several of the oldest and best-established companies have been brought dangerously close to the verge of bankruptcy, while the market value of their shares has been reduced by nearly one-half. Whatever any interest may have to urge in defense of this crippling of the chief instrumentality of commerce, the fact is not to be questioned that the impairment has been an important factor in producing the fundamental financial derangements from which the country has been and is still suffering.

The extraordinary creation of new buildings may be regarded as another branch of the speculative inflation. In nearly all parts of the country there seems to have been, in respect to both dwellings and business structures, a large anticipation of the future wants of population. The following statement of the number and value of new buildings officially registered in New York city during the first eleven months of 1890, compared with certain preceding years, may suffice for illustration on this point:

| Year. | Number. | Value. |
|---|---|---|
| 11 months of 1890 | 3,363 | $71,100,000 |
| 12 months of 1889 | 4,207 | 69,500,000 |
| 12 months of 1885 | 3,368 | 45,400,000 |
| 12 months of 1881 | 2,668 | 43,400,000 |
| 12 months of 1880 | 2,252 | 29,100,000 |

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Among the minor influences contributing to the results under review should be noted the locking-up of several millions of silver bullion, in anticipation of the operation of the new Silver Act, which diverted an equal amount of loanable funds from ordinary market use and aggravated the stringency of loans at the incipiency of the crisis. The enactment of the McKinley tariff also contributed its quota to the general demoralization, by causing importers to make large prepayments of duties; which involved the double misfortune of transferring several millions of cash from the banks to the treasury and increasing the demands of the importers for bank accommodation. Thus, concurrently with the culmination of a radical chronic disease, came accidents which seriously disabled Wall Street for resisting the mischief.

Thus far, I have enumerated, as the causes of the financial crisis, only factors connected with domestic affairs. In truth, however, a large measure of its aggravation must be charged to the account of the deranged condition of finance in London. Not only has Great Britain participated very largely in recent American railroad speculations, but she has, for the last three years, indulged in a mania of speculative financing surpassing all precedent. "Finance" companies, "trust" companies, and "investment" companies—possessing just enough of capital and of the deceptive sanction of high names to attract unwary investors—have created a host of enterprises calculated to benefit promoters rather than participators, with the result of an immense issue of new "securities,"—by a generous euphemism so-called. The total amount subscribed for these new corporations and for public loans from the beginning of 1888 to the end of October, 1890, appears from the London papers to have been about £485,000,000. The principal items of this total are enumerated in the following approximate statement:

| | |
|---|---|
| Outstanding South American loans | £145,000,000 |
| Argentine Republic cedulas | 100,000,000 |
| South American railroads | 58,000,000 |
| South African mines | 10,000,000 |
| Nitrate mines | 3,500,000 |
| Trust companies | 60,000,000 |
| | £376,500,000 |

It will thus be seen that, of the total subscriptions of capital within the three years, £376,500,000 was for purposes external to Great Britain; besides which there are unspecified large subscriptions for other foreign and for colonial undertakings,

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aggregating probably not less than £50,000,000. It would therefore appear that, of the total £485,000,000 of new creations, approximately £366,000,000 has been for external purposes, while less than £120,000,000 has been subscribed for the promotion of strictly home enterprises. This immense creation of new undertakings is asserted by English statistical authorities to have been very largely in excess of the concurrent increase of British wealth. When, therefore, it is considered that three-fourths of the subscriptions were for foreign purposes, it is at once apparent how violent must have been the strain upon British finance to provide for these vast commitments, and how much must still remain to be endured before this oppressive oversupply of new issues can be finally distributed. The extent to which not only large promoting companies, but even banking-houses of high repute, have been involved in floating these new issues is illustrated by the fact that the Barings were found to have, at the time when their embarrassments were exposed, over £30,000,000 of outstanding commitments, chiefly connected with their operations in South American loans, most of which advances rested upon the most slender chances of repayment. The simple mention of these facts suffices to demonstrate that the whole system of British finance must have been sapped and drained to an extent far exceeding all experience in modern eras of speculation.

From the foregoing survey it is plain that the underlying causes of the crisis have consisted almost entirely in an overcreation of new and largely doubtful enterprises. These excesses set in almost simultaneously in the United States and Great Britain, and they culminated together. Our share in the inflation may be approximately stated as covering about $2,000,000,000; that of Great Britain about $2,400,000,000; with the intrinsic merits of the investments perhaps preponderating in favor of the United States, as most of our new railroads have the promise of ultimately becoming remunerative, as commerce develops.

The violently irregular movements reflected in the foregoing facts are a sad comment upon the lack of judgment among investors, and equally so upon the willingness of a class who control large amounts of capital and enjoy the confidence of the public, to misdirect the national earnings into unsound and wasteful ventures. But the more regretable such experiences may be, the more necessary does it become to devise every possible

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means for limiting the disaster they entail. Certain consequences of these inflations are inevitable. The "water" must be squeezed out of the issues, and their value reduced to the standard of their true earning capacity. That means wholesale liquidation and large declines in the market value of the scrip; which, again, involves the disturbance of loans based upon the dubious collaterals, and frequently the failure of banks, bankers, or promoters who have committed themselves to the ventures; and these derangements almost invariably involve sympathetic injury to commercial interests which have no direct connection with such misdirections of enterprise. So much is inevitable. The disease is radical, and therefore can be cured only by a severe process.

But it is a question that deserves serious examination whether existing financial arrangements are of the form best calculated to tide over these convulsions with the least possible disturbance. The experiences of the last few weeks have afforded too much evidence that they are far from possessing such perfection. So far as respects England, the perils—so narrowly escaped by such extraordinary expedients as the Bank of England getting help from the Bank of France and procuring authorization to issue notes in disregard of law—have opened the eyes of the banking community, of statesmen, and of the press to the necessity for immediately broadening the powers of the national bank and alleviating the onerous restraints imposed upon it under Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act. What can be done to increase the elasticity of our financial instrumentalities? has become the most urgent question of the hour in this country. It would be fortunate if the judgment of the public on this question were commensurate with their anxieties. The truth must be confessed, however, that popular conceptions of the nature of the problem are so vague and wild that any remedy provided through legislation is likely to be of doubtful efficacy. Probably two-thirds of our people are persuaded that the whole evil lies in an insufficiency of currency, and hence Congress is distracted about the ways and means of indefinitely inflating the circulating medium.

If currency could have either prevented or cured the present unfortunate situation, there would have been nothing to complain about at this moment. For, according to the annual report of Secretary Windom, there was an

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increase in the circulation in actual use, during the three months next preceeding the crisis, amounting to over 68 millions; which extraordinary inflation produced no perceptible effect whatever upon the universally stringent condition of the money market. For years past, the circulation has been increasing out of all proportion to the growth of population, the amount in actual use on October 1, 1886, having been $1,264,900,000, and on the 1st of October last $1,498,000,000, showing a gain of $234,000,000, or 19 per cent., within four years, which is double the ratio of growth of population. These facts prove that it was through no deficiency of circulation that the panic occurred or that it was not more easily held in check. It may well be asked what would have been the condition of affairs in London under the late upheaval, had that market been as directly dependent as this theory assumes on the volume of circulation, seeing that at the beginning of November the paper circulation of Great Britain was $10,000,000 less and the specie in the Bank of England $42,000,000 less than were those respective items ten years before. What support does the demand for a large continuous increase of the currency receive from the fact that England constantly is largely augmenting the volume of her business, with a stationary and at times retrogressive volume of circulation?

And the same question may apply with similar force to the circulation of the Bank of France (the only issuer of paper money in France), whose volume of outstanding notes last November was about the same as in that month of 1883. The notion that money is essential to all the transactions of business is productive of endless misconception about the workings of finance. Money is merely a tool for the *small* payments of society; while all the large transactions of trade and finance are settled by checks, notes, bills of exchange, or the transfer of book accounts; and it is exclusively these latter instruments that are concerned in the development and settlement of financial crises. In the use of these instruments of the *large transfers*, therefore, must be sought a revision which will secure better control over such convulsions as the one which has recently shaken the foundations of confidence on both sides of the Atlantic and among one hundred millions of commercial population.

Nevertheless, by a purely artificial expedient, money is made to play a very important part in disturbances of credit oper-

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ations. The national banks of New York, at which the larger half of the whole banking operations of the country are transacted, are required by law and under threat of suspension to hold an amount of lawful money equal to not less than 25 per cent. of their net deposits. When the reserves trench upon this legal limit, the law compels the banks to stop lending, and the money that might be used for satisfying the wants of borrowers is kept idle at the bidding of authority. In this sense, at times and indeed too frequently, the matter of a few millions of money is invested with an almost omnipotent power over the negotiation of thousands of millions of credits; and the whole machinery of finance is crippled because a handful of banks are deprived of the right to a proper use of their money. Public opinion blindly ascribes these congestions to "a scarcity of money," while in truth, the trouble comes entirely from an arbitrary and needless restraint upon the lending function of the banks. The operation of this reserve law has contributed more than all other causes to the panics and the periodic congestions that have made the oscillations of the New York market a byword and a marvel the world over.

It is not to be inferred from this that I in any measure underestimate the necessity of maintaining ample cash reserves: the only question is whether they shall be regulated by a cast iron law or by each bank for itself; whether they shall be used when the emergency arises for which they are provided, or be kept idle in times of urgency, to the injury alike of the banks and the public. Herein, as I conceive, lies one serious source of the needless aggravation of crises, which ought to be remedied.

In various other directions, the national banks are placed under legal restrictions which impair their ability to take care of themselves and their customers in periods of disturbance. The banks are allowed to issue circulating notes only upon deposit of bonds the market value of which exceeds by 15 to 30 per cent. the amount of notes issued; whereas the notes could be made absolutely secure by simply making them a first lien upon all assets of the bank, as well as upon the duplicate capital for which the stockholders are responsible in the event of the bank's failure; in which event, the bonds now deposited against circulation could be converted into mobile and always readily available capital. The form of guarantee here suggested has a broader precedent in foreign banking systems than any other.

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The banks are systematically embarrassed also by the clause forbidding their lending a sum exceeding one-tenth the amount of their capital to any one borrower. Conservative as this restraint may seem in theory, yet, in such large operations as have to be undertaken by the New York banks, it is found to be very decidedly otherwise in practice. It frequently prevents a bank from accepting a large sound loan, and compels it to divide up its advances among several smaller and weaker borrowers. In times of disturbed credit it often prevents a good customer from getting all the accommodation at his bank that he needs, and for the remainder throws him upon the tender mercies of others to whom his standing is unknown. Such a restriction is specially hostile to the interests of a city at which centre the larger transactions of the nation. More and more every year capital is concentrating into larger masses; and its owners require correspondingly increasing accommodation from the banks. Yet, owing to this 10 per cent. limitation, the lending ability of the national banks becomes increasingly inadequate to the borrowing requirements of large interests. The readiness of the Associated Banks to issue Clearing-House certificates in periods of danger is very largely explained by the fact that, as each bank is by law largely disqualified for dealing with important applications for advances, they find it necessary to consolidate their lending power, as a means of resisting the progress of demoralization and relieving the urgent wants of borrowers. In these and in other respects the rigidity of the national-banking system has become responsible for a serious inadequacy of our banking arrangements to satisfy our financial necessities.

The foregoing are only some of the many possible alleviations of the irregularities in the working of our financial system which are seriously retarding the progress of the nation. They are, however, all to which the necessary limits of my space permit reference.

HENRY CLEWS.



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# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## A TOOTHLESS AND HAIRLESS RACE.

"TEETH strong, even, and white as those of a savage," is the novelist's hackneyed description of one of his hero's chief physical charms. The fossil jaws of prehistoric man show molars and incisors worn half-way to the sockets indeed, but generally unbroken in number and free from caries. Civilized man has a larger and more deeply convoluted brain, a less oblique facial angle, a more rounded tibia, a less protruding heel, and a finer nose than the typical savage, modern or prehistoric; but in the matter of teeth he is immeasurably his inferior. What a pity that the refining processes which have sculptured his lips into such exquisite curves should have made such havoc within them! that the divine beauty of his smile should be so often more than neutralized by the sepulchral ruin it reveals!

And in the matter of hair, too, one sex at least has been a great sufferer from civilization. Compare the male European or American head of to-day, fertile enough within, but so often a scalpy desert without, with the thickly-thatched cranium of the Asiatic or the African.

The oft-repeated conclusion of the biologists is inevitable: the processes that have produced such results will continue until civilized man becomes an absolutely toothless and hairless race.

What then? Will there be a deterioration of health and beauty? Will our descendants, more or less remote, become a race of prematurely-old men and women? The life-history of the individual is repeated in that of the species. Is that the destined Old Age of the human species when every individual will bear throughout his life these conspicuous marks of decrepitude? Or will the destined change be only one more step towards a higher organization, a more finely-developed and vital manhood? It will not be the first great physical change through which our race has passed since it was clothed with hair from top to toe, had great fangs in its jaws, moved its pointed ears at will, and was decorated with a tail. It is not difficult to imagine the time when our remote ancestors first noticed that the coats of shining silky hair which covered their bodies were beginning to grow thin. Perhaps it was at the same time that their graceful and convenient tails were growing shorter and less flexible. With what concern they must have observed the increasing baldness of their shoulders and sides, and how they must have missed the support as well as beauty of their lost or abbreviated caudal appendages!

As their successors supply the deficiencies of nature with scalp-wigs and artificial teeth, so no doubt they made hairy coverings "perfectly simulating nature" to conceal the ugly bald spots on their bodies, and perhaps eked out their shortened tails with artificial supplements. Who knows but that this may have hastened the adoption of the artificial clothing, hairy skins of beasts, etc., which in the course of the ages since has completed the depila-

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tory process and produced the lady's smooth satiny skin, of which she is so proud?

If we can imagine those remote progenitors of ours intelligent enough to write magazine articles, how learnedly we may fancy them discoursing on the disastrous effects of deviating from the habits of primitive nature!

"Our greatly-improved and still improving means of defence against our terrestrial enemies," one of their *savants* might have written if he had possessed the erudition of to-day, "is producing its natural result. The increasing tendency of our race to abandon their natural habitat among the trees for a more indolent and luxurious life upon the ground is greatly to be deplored. We are rapidly losing the physical agility and mental alertness which characterized our fathers, and which arboreous habits alone can develop and maintain. If the tendency continues to increase, our race must necessarily deteriorate, until it will finally descend to the level of the clumsy and stupid *plantigrade*. There is even danger of at least two radical physical changes. Our diminished activity and increased luxury are rendering us more and more susceptible to climatic changes, from which we seek to protect ourselves by artificial covering. This is, no doubt, the chief cause of the body-baldness from which so large a proportion of our people suffer, especially in advanced life. Again, the walker upon the ground has little or no occasion for that graceful appendage which the swinger from tree to tree finds one of his chief necessities—his prehensile tail. Disuse, therefore, added to the abrading effect of his habit of sitting so much of his time, will eventually deprive him of this beautiful and, in the design of nature, most necessary appendage. Imagine a race of men with no tails, and with skins as bare all over as the palms of our four hands! Such a race, unless the tendencies are radically changed, we are inevitably destined to become."

Well, the tendencies were not radically changed, and such a race we have in great measure become. It will require only a few hundreds of generations more to render the transformation complete, when the last hairy scalp, chin, breast, and leg shall have disappeared, and the human form divine shall present from crown to sole a surface as smooth and rosy-white as an infant's cheek of to-day. The other change will have taken place, too—that which our prehistoric ancestors had no reason to foresee; the last molar, tricuspid, bicuspid, and incisor will have disappeared, and the smiling lips will reveal only two semicircles of rosy gum.

As we have already asked, will the result be a deterioration of health and beauty? With us there is, to say the least, a strong and decided prejudice in favor of luxuriant tresses and pearly teeth. But it is only a prejudice, and by no means universal. We see no lack of beauty in the infant's naked, rosy scalp, or in its sweet little toothless mouth. We even see a kind of majestic beauty in the ivory dome that covers the sage's busy brain. A white, shining billiard-ball is by no means unpleasing to the eye, and no one can fancy its beauty improved by covering half of it with a coat of hair, however soft and silky, lustrous, brown, or golden.

Birds had teeth once: how should we welcome the prospect of a return, a retrogression, to their former semi-reptilian condition? Would you think your canary or your brilliant-hued cockatoo improved in its appearance if the smooth, even edges of its bill were garnished with saws of pearly teeth, like a little feathered and winged alligator?

The possession of a full complement of teeth has always been regarded as an indispensable condition of perfect health. To our prehistoric ancestors,

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who had no other grain-mills than their molars, it must have been so, and the modern soldier in active service would find his hard-tack and leathery salt beef rather unsatisfactory fare without the dental integrity which the examining surgeon so properly insists upon. But the constantly improving science of cookery supplies the remedy for the civilian, and as to the soldier, he is, like his teeth, a relic of undeveloped civilization. The "dogs of war" must go, teeth and all. Experience has demonstrated that the luxurious diet of civilization, which gives so little for the teeth to do, is, on the whole, more conducive to vitality and longevity than the hard fare of savagery. Long before toothless gums shall have become the rule, all occasion for teeth will have passed, either for beauty or use. The rudimentary excrescences which will ever and anon continue to appear will be looked upon as deformities, and will be promptly removed. Those rare individuals from the uttermost parts of the earth who shall be able to show a complete set of fully-developed teeth will be exhibited as "freaks," as the hairy wild man of Australia is exhibited to-day—relics of a former bestial stage of humanity.

Meanwhile the transition state of our race from the beauty of luxuriant hair and perfect teeth to the beauty of satin-smooth scalps and geometrically-perfect mandibles of delicate pink, is one of comparative ugliness, analogous to the moulting period of the feathered tribes.

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

## AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

THE development of Africa excites in the Christian world to-day a more common and widespread interest than any other subject. It is shared in a greater or less degree by nearly all nations, classes, and religious bodies. The recent partition of great portions of the continent between the European powers, as well as the formation of commercial companies for founding new empires in its depths, is the result, not the cause, of this interest. This of itself would prove that it is no merely sentimental feeling which shrinks from action; but beyond and higher than this is the fact that great numbers of men, as far apart as English and American university graduates and French peasants, stand ready to make any needed sacrifice, even of life itself, to help it on. It was only a few days, for instance, after Cardinal Lavigerie suggested raising a semi-religious *gendarmerie* for the purpose of a forcible repression of the slave-trade that more than a thousand men volunteered to go to almost certain death in this service. When one missionary falls at his post, ten are eager to fill his place. Though it is true that most of the explorers, traders, prospectors, and adventurers who are pressing from all directions into the interior are actuated only by personal motives, yet the Christian world at large has no other wish than to see a magnificent continent opened to civilization, its wealth made available, and the "open sore" of the world healed.

There is one notable and significant exception to this common interest of all Christian peoples in the redemption of Africa. The educated and well-to-do American negro alone seems to be apathetic and indifferent; or, if he has any interest in Africa, it is purely sentimental. Though I have had occasion to become unusually familiar with what has been done in that continent during the last fifty years or more, I cannot call to mind a single instance of an American negro who has gone to Africa from the noble motives which have led tens of hundreds of white men to make their graves in its forests and swamps. This indifference is, to me at least, inexplicable. In the North

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for several generations the negro has had nearly every advantage which our institutions could give him, and has availed himself of them. He has taken high rank in our colleges. He has filled important public offices and has been in State legislatures and in Congress. Every profession and business has received him into its ranks, and he has acquired wealth. Moreover, he has done, is still doing, successful missionary and educational work among the less favored Southern negroes. In this African field alone, where we should expect him to be keenly jealous of the foremost place, he strangely steps aside and leaves the white man to bear the whole burden.

Why should we expect him to be foremost? Simply because he is bound by closer race ties to the African than the white man is, and there is not another civilized or semi-civilized people whom the knowledge of the sufferings of kindred peoples does not call to instant and nobly-indignant action. The peace of Europe is constantly threatened because every Russian, Greek, Servian, and Bulgarian—we might almost add every Frenchman—is eager to leap to arms to rescue his brethren from a foreign yoke. The American negro alone looks on apparently indifferent to the oppression of fellow-negroes to which the tyranny of the European Turk is mildness in comparison. More than this, we should look to him to be foremost because experience shows that the black man can do the work better than the white. In the last half-century the Christian missionaries have gathered converts here and there, a few thousands in all, doing in many cases a problematical good; "mission-boy" being often a term of reproach for one who is lazy, helpless, and false. During the same time black men, part traders, part missionaries, have converted vast populations in north-central Africa to Mohammedanism. They have founded among them kingdoms of a high degree of civilization, and the negro under their influence has distinctly advanced in strength of mind and morals. These missionaries, it should be noted, were quite as much strangers among their African converts as the American negro would have been. So the black traders from the east coast, foreigners still, have gone into every part of the interior, exploring territories in which no white man has yet been able to set foot, everywhere becoming leaders of the people—when they have not exterminated them. Has the enlightened American negro less force of character or strength of will, less power to influence or to command, than the black, half-breed Arab? Could no American Tippu Tib conquer for civilization and Christianity a territory as great as that man rules, as much an alien to his subjects as his Belgian secretary?

Ignorance cannot be the cause of this indifference, for we are referring only to the educated and intelligent American negro. Nor can it be because missionary societies have rejected his proffered services. A man who was in earnest to do this work would not be stopped a day by such a trifling obstacle. African pioneer and mission history is full of instances of men who have labored alone in Africa. The Royal Geographical Society has recently honored with one of its coveted prizes an independent missionary who almost without means, and absolutely alone, has explored a great and hitherto almost unknown territory.

It cannot spring from a feeling that he is not fitted to be useful in such a field. I venture to say that there is no one so humble in ability and acquirements who, if he has the right spirit, could not be a power in Africa. There is, or was recently, living alone on the shores of Lake Tanganyika a French soldier who, on his discharge from the army, offered himself for work in Africa. Though nothing but a drill-sergeant, he proved more useful

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than many a highly-trained missionary. He formed the natives of a considerable district into a home-guard, which successfully defended it from all the raids of the slave-hunters. One principal cause of the great influence of Mackay of Uganda, whose recent death has thrilled the Christian world with a feeling akin to dismay, after the spirit which animated him, was the fact that he was a practical machinist It is, in truth, not too much to say that what Africa needs most now is not university men and highly-educated teachers, but mechanics and artisans, farmers and gardeners, actuated by the same spirit.

Nor can this indifference spring from timidity. The negro's record in the Civil War amply proves that he is not daunted by perils, nor does he shrink from privations in a noble cause. His apathy is the harder to understand from the fact that nothing to-day is surer to win the attention and admiration of the world than self-sacrificing work in Africa. That this recognition is not reserved for the white man is shown by the honors heaped upon Bishop Crowther, a Yoruba slave, for his services in the Niger valley, and the affectionate regard of all who have followed Stanley's adventurous life for his faithful Zanzibari, Uledi. A career is surely open to the ambitious American negro in Africa, success in which would lift his whole race while aiding in the redemption of a continent. Why does he not enter it?

JAMES M. HUBBARD.

## THE USELESSNESS OF FLYING-MACHINES.

AIR-SHIPS have had an exhaustive trial, and their limitations are now recognized by all intelligent investigators. Any vessel which depends for its upward motion upon its displacement of air must, of necessity, be so large as to preclude the possibility of propelling it against even a moderate breeze. Helpless and inert as an iceberg in the Gulf Stream, it must float wherever the aërial currents choose to carry it. Few, even of the most visionary enthusiasts, now really believe that the day will ever come when buoyant air-ships will navigate the heavens in any governable direction.

With flying-machines, however, the case is radically different. In the first place, the flying-machine follows the analogy of nature as no air-ship ever could. Ships float on the water in very much the same fashion that fish and many aquatic birds float in or upon it; but the balloon finds no prototype in its sphere. No bird or insect exists that can for an instant support itself motionless in the air. The specific gravity of water and that of most animals are so nearly the same that an equipoise is easily established in various ways. But the specific gravity of air is so very much less than that of most of the other forms of matter that an equipoise is very hard to establish. As has been observed, no living animal can support itself in the air without supplementing the specific gravity of the air by an expenditure of muscular energy, and in most cases this expenditure is very large.

It is, then, only by means of some strong, light structure, *plus* a large amount of energy, that we may hope to imitate nature and traverse the heavens with both speed and certainty of course. But when the inevitable conditions are once accepted, the outlook for success is by no means discouraging. The obstacles in the way of a successful flying-machine are such that any decade of our age of aggressive science may surmount them. There is nothing at all absurd in the notion that men may learn to fly. Not by means of their own muscles, of course,—nobody now expects that,—but by means of mechanical ingenuity, linked with the tremendous power of steam or with

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the magic of that wonder-working force which we call electricity. At the present time there is a general feeling, not only among wild enthusiasts, but among men of sober judgment, both in the scientific and in the business world, that a practical flying-machine is among the near possibilities of the future. Learned and conservative societies have lent to this belief a very considerable degree of favor, while the faith of the commercial world is attested by the recent formation in a western city of a company with an enormous capital which is to be devoted entirely to the building of flying machines.

But when one examines carefully into the possible utility of flying-machines, he is forced to the conviction that no great benefits to mankind are reasonably to be expected from even the most triumphant success in this line of invention. It is really curious that so many people assume without reflection that a successful flying-machine would mean either increased speed or increased carrying power over our present methods of transportation. An American journal of weight and ability recently gave editorial utterance to this remarkable statement: "The successful trial of an air-ship would in twenty-four hours' time cut down by half the value of all the railroads and steamships in the world, because it would afford an opportunity of cheapening to an incredible extent the cost of transporting persons and merchandise." This is sheer nonsense; and it is worthy of confutation only because it is a kind of nonsense to which people who talk on this subject seem to fall victims in a very unthinking way.

The one sole advantage of aërial transit lies in the directness of route which it would find possible. A flying car could (theoretically) go from New York to San Francisco, or from London to Constantinople, in a line much more nearly straight than is now possible for a railroad or a steamship. But what other advantage could possibly attend aërial transit? Many persons speak of "travelling through the air" as if air would be an entirely novel medium to travel through. They seem not to realize that steamships and railroad trains at the present day travel through the air, with the great additional advantage of getting a solid base beneath the air to rest upon. Would a cargo of goods or a carload of passengers lose its weight if it were elevated above the earth's surface? If not, then this weight must rest on something. And if it rests upon the air, the friction will be far greater than if it rested upon the steel rails and well-lubricated wheels of a first-class railroad. The more yielding the substance upon which a moving weight slides, the greater the friction. As a ship, resting on the yielding sea, finds a much greater resistance to its motion than does the same weight resting upon steel rails, so would a vessel resting upon the air find a much greater friction to overcome than if it rested upon the sea. An express train now travels through the air, and through no other medium. By resting upon the earth it secures a grip for its driving-wheels and a hard, smooth surface to slide upon. What advantage could result from increasing the friction, and putting forth a tremendous power to support the weight of the train, at the same time removing the driving-wheels to a region where they could get no grip save upon the thin and fleeing air?

And if it is absurd to hope for an increase of speed, it is even more palpably impossible to secure an increase of transporting power by means of flying-machines. A moment's sane reflection ought to convince any man that the power consumed in lifting a dead-weight a hundred feet into the air must enormously exceed the power necessary to move the same weight an equal

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distance along the earth's surface. Even so crude a vehicle as a stone-drag enables a horse to pull for miles a load of rocks which he could not lift a thousand feet. Two horses will trot and pull a hundred passengers along the smooth metals of a tramway. Of how many horses would the strength be required to support the same car full of passengers in mid-air an hour, to say nothing of moving it along rapidly at that elevation? A force of ten pounds, advantageously applied, will move a ton in a horizontal direction. To sustain the ton in the air and simultaneously move it at the same speed in a horizontal direction obviously would require a force of ten pounds *plus two thousand pounds!* Here, again, one is constrained to ask: What advantage is it to put forth the enormous power necessary to sustain the freight in mid-air, when the weight might just as well rest peacefully upon the earth, the transporting power required being in both cases substantially the same? The whole absurdity originates in the unthinking notion that a bird on the wing weighs less than he does when sitting on a perch.

No triumph of ingenuity, no availability of new substances, such as aluminium, no application of electricity or other power, will ever enable man and freight to travel supported on the air more speedily or cheaply than, with the same advantages of material and power, they can be transported through the air while resting on the earth. So long as the force of gravity remains unaltered, transit through mid-air must, of necessity, be handicapped by disadvantages which no conceivable mechanism could overcome—disadvantages which forever preclude serious competition with transit on the earth's surface.

Flying-machines are among the near possibilities—an enthusiast might almost say probabilities. Man may yet harness himself into a light, tough frame-work of aluminium, and, compelling the electric current completely to his will, mount the ether like a lark or cleave the clouds like an eagle. But the world has as little practical use for flying-machines as it has for the north pole. Scientists would be deeply interested in them; the rich might conceivably use them as luxurious playthings; adventurous cranks would play mad pranks with them, not "before high heaven," but in high heaven; and the managers of agricultural fairs and Fourth-of-July entertainments would hail them with joy as the legitimate heir to that old favorite, the balloon ascension. But the spectacle of a perfected flying-machine to-morrow curving its graceful spirals above the New York Stock Exchange need not shake by a ripple the watery instability of the most dropsical railroad stock in that hydropathic centre. The mass of mankind will live and move forever upon the earth's surface. The power that binds solid substances to that surface will never be defied or evaded to any beyond the most limited extent.

ARTHUR MARK CUMMINGS.

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## HOW TO TEACH CITIZENSHIP.

"OH, I NEVER read editorials," was the reply made by an intelligent-looking young paying-teller in one of Boston's national banks, when asked if he had read a certain newspaper editorial dealing with a prominent economic question. Even more distressing was the confession of a young citizen, born and bred in New York city, in reply to a question as to how he should vote at the recent municipal election, that he did not know who the candidates were. When told that Mr. Grant was the Tammany candidate, he expressed the hope that he would be defeated, as he "never did like the Grant family"!

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The writer's experience has not been unique. Certain it is that indifference to the duties of citizenship on the part of our young men—products of our school systems, public and private—not only as regards an intelligent consideration of questions of vital importance, but even in the matter of casting a ballot at all, is altogether too common.

During the Rebellion the appeal to arms for the preservation of the Union aroused the interest of our citizens and stirred the fires of patriotism. No such stimulus exists to-day, and the waving of the bloody shirt does not excite the passions of the generation of voters to whom the war is only an historical record. All the more need, then, to encourage citizenship by education. The filling of the offices of the government is still an inevitable fact, and there are still great national questions which demand the intelligent consideration of our voters. Furthermore, our population has grown, very largely by immigration, to such an extent that we now number, at a low estimate, sixty-two millions, distributed in many distinct communities, differing from each other in habits and customs, and even in language. In New Mexico the citizen casts a ballot written in Spanish; in many factory cities of New England clerks who can speak Canadian French are employed in the shops; in Wisconsin the exclusive use of the English language in the public schools is brought in question. Thus the immense task is imposed upon us not only of preparing for citizenship the children of American homes, but of inculcating the principles of our government into the minds of those children whose parents were born and brought up under other systems.

It is in the public schools of the land that the dangers of indifference and ignorance must be met. Much has already been done in the line of improvement. Civil government is being more widely taught, though it is not universally found in the courses of study even of our high-schools. The movement to place American flags upon school-houses has surely been an excellent one. But how does it happen that we witness so much indifference to citizenship among graduates of our public schools who are of voting age? How does it happen that intelligent men, in an intensely illogical spirit, advise young citizens to "let politics alone" on the ground that they are corrupt?—as if the filthy condition of the Augean stables were the best reason why Hercules should not attempt to clean them. If our public schools are developing a set of citizens who, forgetting that they owe something to the blessings and protection of a free government, and failing to realize that corruption grows on indifference, stay away from the polls because it rains, or submit to the indignity of being sent for with a carriage; if, as a result of public-school education, our young men are enabled to read the newspaper account of the baseball game without feeling inclined to read the editorial column, then the schools have fallen short of what ought to be expected of them.

Even if a law were passed making the study of civil government compulsory in all high-schools and in the highest grade of the grammar-schools, the remedy might not be effectual. The mere placing of a text-book in the school does not suffice. In the report of Superintendent Seaver of the Boston schools, for 1888, we find complaint made that the study of civil government had been neglected. The teaching of citizenship depends more upon the teacher than upon the subject taught. It is one thing to teach the Constitution of the United States so that it shall be *understood*: it is quite another to teach it so that it shall be *appreciated*. It is even more important to instil into the minds of young pupils a thorough appreciation of the ethics

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of our government than to teach them an adeptness in answering technical questions with regard to its form.

In the teaching of citizenship, as well as in the teaching of morals, the teacher must be more than an unemotional machine in which a question is put and a fact extracted. To teach morals successfully, the teacher must feel the impulse to make the pupils better, and not serve as a disinterested distributer of ethical truths. So in teaching citizenship the teacher must be an enthusiastic patriot, one in love with the institutions of the country, who can *preach* patriotism as well as *teach* it. No point should be more thoroughly and repeatedly brought to the attention of those who are fitting themselves in normal schools and colleges to be teachers than that they are to have the future citizens of our country in their charge, and that they will be expected to teach ethics as applied to the duties of citizenship as well as to the other affairs of life.

Our scholars ought early to be taught that the wilful failure of a citizen to exercise the right of casting an honest and intelligent ballot is a neglect of duty and an ungrateful disregard of the privilege granted by our ancestors, who fought and bled that this nation might be a government of the people; that it is a sacrifice of manhood for a citizen to allow his vote to be influenced by an offer of money; that if the practice of buying votes were to become general, our country would become a miserable plutocracy, and to be an American citizen would be no better than to be a purchasable slave; that they are living in a country whose inhabitants enjoy the greatest measure of freedom accorded to any people on the earth, a continuance of which freedom rests with them; and that honest citizens must watch much more sharply for the preservation of the integrity of our government than political adventurers watch for the prostitution of its ends and aims. It is in the *ethics* of citizenship that improvement is needed in our public schools. If our children have been trained early to realize the responsibilities of citizenship, they will be attracted, as they become older, to an intelligent consideration of the great questions of the day, and will gladly turn to the discussions in our newspapers and magazines to learn what the best thought is upon these questions.

Much has been said of late about the attitude of the State toward private schools. Her duty as regards the teaching of citizenship is clear. The State is a joint parent with the fathers and mothers of the land, and may with right say to the managers of private schools: "Teach your children what courses of study you like, or what religions you like, but I insist that you fit them to be American citizens. These children enjoy my protection and the blessings of a free government. This government is conducted by its citizens, and these children, my future citizens, must be qualified to act as such. Teach them, therefore, along with your moral and religious training, the duties of American citizenship."

Ex-President Cleveland said at the recent dinner given to Mr. Thurman: "It should never be forgotten that the influence which more than all other things has made our people safe depositaries of governmental power, and which has furnished the surest guarantee of the strength and perpetuity of the Republic, has its source in the American home." True enough; but is not the school the ultimate factor in making the influence of the home patriotic? Our mothers can be the best cultivators of patriotism, and the mothers of the future are in our schools to-day. Shall not these mothers, then, taught in school days the fundamental principles of American inde-

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pendence and the nobleness of honest citizenship, feel with Cornelia of ancient Rome that the most precious jewels she can show are her patriotic children?

SAMUEL W. MENDUM.

## THE BRUTAL SEX.

WHEN Mrs. Poyser, in the course of one of her memorable arguments with Mr. Craig on "the woman question," wound up by admitting that, though women might be foolish, "God Almighty made 'em to match the men," she supplied a statement of the seemingly unanswerable variety which her sex have not been slow to make use of in discussions regarding the respective merits or failings of the sexes. As *Malvolio*, however, when questioned concerning Pythagoras's assertion that the soul of our grandam might haply inhabit a bird, replied that he thought nobly of the soul and in no way approved of the opinion, so I must declare that I think too nobly of woman to approve altogether of Mrs. Poyser's theory and assent to its proposition that women were made to match the men. If it were true, then the human race were in a most parlous state. If it were true, then the masculine would not be *the brutal sex*.

To be cruel is not necessarily to be brutal, in the ordinary acceptation of those terms, however lexicographers may decide the matter for themselves. A person may be both brutal and cruel, or only cruel, or, again, only brutal. In ordinary speech we distinguish between the two words by applying the term "cruel" to merciless acts which seem to imply a definite amount of deliberate thought preparatory to their execution, and "brutal" to similar acts committed without such thought and on the impulse of the moment. So it is that we speak of "refined cruelty," but not of "refined brutality." I have elsewhere intimated that women are often cruel; I should be sorry to believe that they could be brutal.

Cruelty is a defensive attribute of weakness; brutality the vice of strength. The exhibition of these two traits manifests itself early in our human nature. Let any one observe groups of boys and girls at their separate games, and he will see among the former the brute nature asserting its presence with more or less vehemence, according to circumstances, in a free interchange of kicks and blows, while among the girls he will observe actions that are cruel rather than brutal, and which involve mental rather than physical distress. But it is the brutal rather than the cruel side that comes into boldest relief. And among men and women the same degree of difference exists. The stronger sex is still the brutal one.

With brutality is often blended a vein of reckless generosity, a doubtful virtue, the exercise of which often serves to moderate or even dissipate in the public mind the effect of the brutality. But this is somewhat aside from the main theme. It is not needful to go back to the past to sustain the assertion that the masculine sex, taken in its entirety, is a brutal one. We can find proofs enough of it close at hand in our own time. Nor need we take exaggerated instances of it, such as now and then shock us in Whitechapel atrocities or the acts of Stanley's rear-guard in darkest Africa, or in the practices of semi-barbarous peoples. We have but to look at existing states of things in the most enlightened nations of the globe.

Among the rougher elements that form part of the social structure, we find most inhuman practices to be of common occurrence. Men think little of beating their beasts of burden most savagely, and nearly as often and as

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savagely, their unfortunate wives. The impulse to either act is in no way restrained by reason, and is simply the result of an outbreak of brute nature.

If the brutality of modern life touched no greater extremes than these and was confined to the lower strata of society, we might look for its elimination in time, for the progress of intelligence would supplement the workings of law. But brutality is deep-rooted in man's nature; its motives are not the accidents of the moment in their source when its most baleful consequences are concerned, but are among the fundamental passions of man.

Think for a moment what is implied in the single fact that in no part of the world is it deemed safe for a woman to go alone after dark, nor, in many localities, by day even. It is not enough to reply that woman must have a trustworthy masculine escort because she is timid. Why should she be timid? Under similar circumstances a man may fear the personal violence of an enemy or the loss of his money and valuables. A woman has to dread man's "wildness and the chances of the dark." In plain words, she fears that, if unattended, some man will seek to rob her of her honor. And is not this fear of hers an arraignment of civilization itself? How much better does civilized man show above his savage brother in relation to this matter?

It may be urged that it is unfair to hold all men responsible for the lawlessness of a minority; but what is this but to confess that the majority are powerless to restrain the minority, or to say that improvement in this regard is impossible? If in the vicinity of every large town in the United States there lurked a dozen or more fierce wolves that, after nightfall, went into the town and banqueted on such of the citizens as they could secure, we may without much doubt assert that such a state of things, when once found to exist, would come to a speedy termination; for every man would feel that the common safety of all demanded the exertion of his strength in the contest with the wild beasts. But let it be understood that the honor of every woman is endangered when she goes from place to place alone at night, and we accept the fact as no reproach on our common manhood, but merely fancy that all requirements of duty are satisfied if we provide defenceless woman with a responsible male escort.

But woman's timidity is an inheritance, says some one. That is true enough; but is there no active present reason for its continued existence? Let any newspaper with its numberless accounts of brutal assaults upon women make answer to this. That the perpetrators of such crimes often meet with swift retributive justice at the hands of an enraged mob has little influence in the creation of a public opinion strong enough to make crimes of this kind eventually unknown, simply because public opinion, when it thus becomes the instrument of justice, is not worked upon by the nobler aspects of the case.

Crimes against property are always looked upon by the average man as more heinous than any others, and it is useless to deny that the average man regards his wife as his property. She is

> "Something better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse,"

it is true, but his property nevertheless. The indignation which he feels on hearing of some assault upon a woman differs in degree, but scarcely in kind, from the horror with which certain frontier communities regard the crime of horse-stealing. In each case the sin is committed against property. In the frontier town every man feels that his own property is in danger while the horse-thief is still at large; and similarly the average man argues with re-

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spect to his own wife while the ravisher goes unwhipt of justice. Hence his speedy resort to the swiftest punishment possible in each case.

But suppose the idea of personal ownership is not involved in any way, as it is, refine it how we may, in all instances of the kind first cited, or in all accusations of adultery brought by the husband against his wife. Suppose we consider simply one prominent attitude in which the majority of men stand towards womankind. And what is that attitude? Briefly and plainly it is that man's physical welfare requires for its maintenance the moral ruin of unnumbered thousands of women.

It is prudery to be shocked at such a putting of the matter, when we know that the practice of the average man is in fullest accord with the statement just made. Our age is easily shocked in certain directions, but our superior virtue is not incontestably proved by the fact that we are less plain-spoken than our ancestors. What should most concern us is to see whether or no such a statement be true or false.

That it is a false or misleading presentment I leave for others to maintain; that it is a true condensation of the theory held by the majority of men I do not hesitate to assert.

The tolerant attitude taken by many men of blameless lives towards sexual sins is often urged against them as a reproach by women. In this women are partly right and partly wrong. They are in the wrong because they are prone to magnify the guilt of sins of this kind so far above that of other violations of the rule of right living as thereby practically to ignore at times the existence of other sins. They thus exhibit a distorted sense of proportion in morals, and so weaken the influence they might otherwise exert upon the practice of men in this direction. But they are in the right to a certain extent in urging their reproach because the easy judgment passed upon sexual sins, even by men who have no notion of committing them, helps in its way to make the commission of those offences more readily possible.

Masculine society tacitly assumes that the overwhelming majority of men will not remain virtuous. It also assumes that a vast number of women must lead unchaste lives in order that the sexual appetites of the before-mentioned men may be gratified. Now see how differently the two sets of individuals involved in these assumptions are regarded by the world at large. The first-named are seeking the gratification of a natural instinct, we say. If the men are young and unmarried, we say "boys will be boys," and if married, we are not very much inclined to severer judgment so long as there is no outraging of conventionalities. But if young women indulge in practices of this kind, we do not good-naturedly excuse them by saying "girls will be girls," or extend to them the same leniency of judgment passed upon their brothers; what is natural in the one sex appears to be most perverse and unnatural in the other. We forgive the one class readily enough, or even deny the need of the exercise of forgiveness: the other class we refuse to respect, if we be men, or if we be women, we refuse to forgive.

To tacitly admit that incontinence is, if not commendable, at least a very venial transgression for the male sex, but something quite opposite for the female sex, carries with it the practical confession that right thinking as well as right acting in relation to so important a matter is for the present unattainable. It is to admit, moreover, that man has made but very little progress from the animal to the spiritual in this respect in all the ages that have gone before up to the present, and it seemingly involves the denial of the possibility of such advance in the future.

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The church has not contributed materially to the solution of this moral question. It has held up an ideal of what man should be in this particular, but it has never strenuously denied what the practice of the average man declares; namely, that the attainment of such an ideal of virtue by man is an impossible achievement. It has *preached* chastity for man as well as for woman, but it has usually stopped with preaching.

It matters little what advancement is made in any or all departments of human knowledge, or what increase of refinement marks our progress through the centuries, if men are to remain at the end of it all as essentially brutal in the satisfaction of sexual desire as the savage in his wilderness countless æons ago. So long as the average man, refined or otherwise, persists in acting up to his belief that the physical well-being of his sex inexorably calls for the separation from the ranks of virtuous women of hundreds of thousands of their sisters, and the consequent moral ruin of these ministers to his pleasure; so long as he contentedly suffers this perpetual sacrifice to be offered up in his behalf, so long may ours be truthfully as well as sadly called the brutal sex!

OSCAR FAY ADAMS.

## IN FAVOR OF THE JEW.

WE CONDEMN the anti-Semitic legislation of Russia and contrast the condition of the Jews in this free and favored country, but we continue to foster prejudice and retail worn charges which we have never taken the trouble to investigate.

"I cannot understand your associating with Jews," said an ordinarily amiable young woman. "I don't like them and don't want to have anything to do with them." "Have you any personal acquaintance with them?" I asked. "I can't say that I have. There was a Jewish girl at our boarding-school, but that was different; she was bright, and pleasant, and *quite like other people*." Many other "critics" are not more enlightened.

Some charges are obsolete, but we hear continually that Jews are sordid, mean, rapacious. They arrive in this country poor and speedily become rich, and this is the result of over-reaching and trickery. They do not assist in the development of the country by becoming mechanics or agriculturists. They are revengeful. They are rude, uncultured, ostentatious. They are intolerant and hostile to Christianity. They always have been and always will be an alien race, and America wants citizens and patriots.

Let us hear the other side.

Though a stain of meanness and cunning has been imprinted by centuries of Gentile oppression, many Jews are unspotted by it and show the purest quality of honor. Their success is mainly due to business habits, thrift, and intelligence. They have drawn capital to the country and increased its commercial influence. They are eager to acquire, but ready to give. I know Russian Jews, poor and superstitious, who allowed an aged Christian woman to occupy a room in their house, rent free, while she was too ill to work, and supplied her with necessaries for weeks. The generosity of wealthy Jews is too well-known to require illustration or comment. The brother of Bishop Helmuth, founder of Helmuth College, in London, Canada, was a tolerant and generous Jew. When Isaac Helmuth entered the Christian ministry, he was disinherited by his father, who left about $400,000 to one son. But that favored son said, "The half of this belongs to Isaac"; and to Isaac Helmuth it was sent.

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As regards occupation, it is well known that in times of persecution Jews were not allowed to own land or practise mechanic arts, and they have not outgrown the effect of that bar; but the number of Jewish mechanics is increasing, and Jews have attained eminence as engineers and architects.

A revengeful spirit is not a racial characteristic; gratitude is. Says Naphtali Hirtz Wessel: "That love of our neighbor which is founded on gratitude, or the recognition of benefits received, the Jews as a people, possess in an eminent degree; for history, while it proves the faithfulness with which the Jews adhered to those to whom they had vowed their allegiance, affords us no striking instance in which they rewarded good with evil. . . . He who grants his friendship to a Jew has seldom reason to apprehend that the trust will be betrayed." And some of us can indorse those words.

No one who has met "all sorts and conditions of men" can claim that objectionable manners are especially Jewish. The effects of being thrust apart from their fellow-men are visible in certain inherited qualities and peculiarities of manner in those who have continued separate and have been imbued with Jewish prejudice. How unreasonable it is to condemn a race for the misdeeds of some aggressive and insolent individuals! Class should be compared with class. Jews who have had advantages of education and association compare favorably with our cultured classes. Both public and private school teachers have stated that their Jewish pupils are among the brightest and most docile. Recent statistics in Berlin show that the higher the grade of education in any given institution the larger is the proportion of Jewish students. Out of twelve hundred students of law six hundred were Jews. According to some late returns in Russia, more than 15 per cent. of Catholic men are illiterate, while of Protestants no more than 6 per cent. and of the Jews not over 4 per cent. can be classed as illiterates.

Few educated Jews of to-day show hostility toward Christianity. In times of persecution the Jews said and wrote many offensive words, and some years ago few Jews would have mentioned the name of Jesus. Now they admit his moral character and the purity of his motives. The noble Rabbi Bettelheim, of Baltimore, who lately died and was buried at sea on his homeward journey, said that he "never mentioned the name of Jesus Christ without uncovering his head." In a Jewish home I have heard "Calvary" most expressively sung by a Jewess. In a lecture to Jews I have heard a young Jew speak of "the resplendent and advancing cross of Christianity," and in a Jewish synagogue a non-Jew who had been invited to lecture spoke of "that fairest flower of Judaism, Jesus of Nazareth," without offence. Some accept his godly mission, believe in him as "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel," but think it idolatrous to worship him as son of God. Rabbi Gottheil argues that the Jews as a race do not reject Jesus, but they are unable to comprehend his claims to divinity. On the other hand, some Christians look upon teaching which eulogizes Jesus while it rejects his divinity as more insinuating, and therefore more dangerous, than open hostility. Within a short time two Jewish synagogues have been loaned to Christian congregations for services. *The Jewish Exponent* comments upon this: "To some it may seem indecorous to let a house dedicated to Jewish principles, doctrines, and ideals become, if only temporarily, the place where different ideas are promulgated." It certainly shows a liberal spirit. It is true that in some cases tolerance is another name for indifference, because infidelity, lack of interest in any religion, is widespread. "It is surprising to see how far a man can go and yet call himself a Jew,"

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says one. "It is no good to pretend that our religion remains a vital force among us. It has been modified, as we ourselves have been modified, by the influence of Western thought and Western morality." Yet no observing person can sit in a Jewish synagogue on the day of atonement, for instance, and doubt that there remain much genuine earnestness and religious feeling.

The amalgamating influences of the public schools will do away with much prejudice on both sides. I have had the privilege of attending a charming literary society whose members, Jewish and Christian girls who have been friends since school days, meet weekly in a Jewish home. Last winter I attended a course of lectures on Jewish history in a Jewish synagogue. One lecture was delivered by a university student, a non-Jew. He had talent and sympathy; as he reviewed the "tragic poem of the centuries," he was for the time one of the race in whose blood its stanzas were written. I watched the kindling eye and expressive countenance of the classmate who had invited him. When the young orator turned to descend from the platform, his friend sprang to meet him; they looked into each other's eyes; there was a warm hand-clasp; for them at least, classmates and friends, love and sympathy had banished prejudice.

Freer intercourse, with its mutual benefits, brings up the question of intermarriage. "What are we going to do about it?" inquired a Jewish youth, yet in his teens, who had been invited to non-Jewish homes. "Are our young men and yours to visit one anothers' houses labelled 'non-eligible'?" Schindler and other Jews of the very liberal school favor "mixed marriages." But the result might be the disintegration of the race. There is a suggestive passage in Amy Levy's "Reuben Sachs." Leopold Leuniger says: "Disintegration, absorption, is the price we are bound to pay for restored freedom and consideration." Reuben Sachs replies: "If we are to die as a race, we will die harder than you think. That strange, strong instinct that has held us together so long is not a thing easily eradicated; it will come into play when it is least expected. Jew will gravitate to Jew, though each may call himself by another name. If prejudice died, if all the world, metaphorically speaking, thought one thought and spoke one language, there would still remain those inexplicable mysteries, affinity and love."

The future of the Jewish people is as much an insoluble problem as ever, but that the race, after its long, wonderful separation, should be disintegrated and absorbed, seems incredible. Separation does not imply alienation. Let there be free and friendly intercourse, and leave the question of intermarriage for time to settle. It is a remarkable fact that among the cultured Jews the racial features are generally less strongly defined, and the German, French, and American types may readily be distinguished. As to patriotism, the American Hebrew has his share of national pride and allegiance to American institutions. Let me quote again from Naphtali Hirtz Wessel: "We do not hesitate to add that, were a nation, as such, to bestow their good-will and confidence on the Jewish people, the return would not only be frank and cordial, but such is—and has at all times been—the character of the Jew that his heart's blood would be spilt and his last energies devoted to uphold the cause of those whose kindness had given them a claim on his gratitude and faith. Such, at least, is the proof afforded to them by the pages of history; such the testimony borne to their character by those who, in the hour of need, have confided in them."

M. BOURCHIER SANFORD.

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